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MONUMENT AVENUE

HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

Kathy Edwards
Esme Howard
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for the

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

U.S. Department of the Interior
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INTRODUCTION

Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, is renowned as the South's grandest commemorative precinct dedicated to the heroes of the Lost Cause. Its name derives from the Confederate memorials strung the length of its tree-lined ceremonial axis, a series of traditional public sculptures that range from the bronze-and-granite, Beaux-Arts monumentality of an equestrian Robert E. Lee to enshrined cannons marking the lines of Richmond's defensive battlements during the long years of siege. But apart from its memorial function, Monument Avenue is also one of the most celebrated examples in the United States of the residential boulevard as public amenity and civic art.

The avenue begins at Stuart Circle, one mile west of Capitol Square at the head of Franklin Street, nineteenth-century Richmond's most socially correct address, and extends more than a mile northwest through the city's west end. When its first blocks were planned in 1887, the city ended here, in rolling fields stretching past the state agricultural exhibition grounds into the farmlands of Henrico County. Today J. E. B. Stuart's statue marks the transformation of Franklin Street's shaded intimacy--characteristic of the historic city's old order--into the City Beautiful expanse of a four-lane, divided boulevard fully 140' wide between building lines. The stylistic transition from the genteel Victorian urbanity of the historic city to the avenue's vigorous red-brick modernity, from a comfortable past to Something New, is modulated, even graceful, but the change in spatial scale is profound.

Four parallel rows of trees frame the avenue's double carriageways and wide median, contributing as much to dramatic public vistas as to the creation of an exclusive residential environment. On either side, the street wall consists of two- and three-story houses and apartment buildings faced in brick or stone, uniformly set back from paved sidewalks 15' wide. At pedestrian level, beneath the foliage, nearly every house proffers the visual and social intervention of a columned porch or balustraded terrace between private property and public promenade. The blurred effect from the thick of traffic whizzing down the thoroughfare is of a unified fabric of white columns and limestone details against a field of Colonial Revival red brick, opening up at more or less regular intervals to the grand ceremonial "event" of a monument in stone and bronze. Experienced this way, the avenue exhibits a remarkable architectural cohesiveness; only closer attention reveals the variety of design and detail, the singular identity of each individual house, and an apparently provisional standard of what was appropriate to build there.

In fact, Monument Avenue's homogeneous appearance belies its history. Just as the evolution of the avenue as a Confederate commemorative ground was the cumulative result of as many individual monument campaigns as there are monuments, so residential development from Stuart Circle to Roseneath Road came about through many separate initiatives, each beholden to what came before but carried out by a series of landholders bent on maximizing their own interests. Developed at different times, each subdivision was also governed by a discrete set of building restrictions, and developers exercised independent and changing notions of what constituted a Monument Avenue lot. Most surprising is the fact that, with a few scattered exceptions, all the houses on the avenue were commissioned by their future occupants; for the most part, apartment and institutional buildings also represent individual commissions. By rough count, then, Monument Avenue's signature homogeneity was the achievement of more than two dozen different designers working independently over a period of nearly sixty years.

The developmental, social and architectural histories that follow provide a framework for understanding Monument Avenue both as a remarkable local achievement and as one of the finest surviving examples of the grand residential boulevard in the United States. The avenue exhibits all the signature traits of this distinctive urban form: the straight, tree-lined street defining an exclusive residential development; a monumental focus or axis; a park-like, landscaped mall, contributing to the experience of the whole ensemble as one great open space; the boulevard itself as a public promenade; and the architectural articulation of the residential fabric along its length as a distinctive enclave, either through stylistic homogeneity or a consensus of scale, or both. Thus, in form, fabric, and character, the avenue epitomizes a popular but little-examined late nineteenth-century mode, based on European precedents from an earlier era, of expanding, promoting and "improving" the urban environment, one employed by both private developers and municipal governments across the United States in the years just prior to professionalized city planning. In charting the emergence of the avenue out of the campaign to memorialize Lee, Chapter One roots the commemorative turn of Richmond's civic elite in the 1880s to the city's economic and political recovery from the devastation of the Civil War. It then documents land acquisition and subdivision in the city's West End prior to and through the course of the avenue's development, relating this chronology to the pattern of building as it emerged.

More than a mere formal arrangement, the grand residential boulevard was also a multi-faceted social instrument responsive to a number of purposes. Compared to examples in other parts of the country--Boston's Commonwealth Avenue, Drexel Boulevard in Chicago, Prospect Avenue in Milwaukee, Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, St. Paul's Summit Avenue among them--Richmond's achievement was modest, appropriate to the city's self-conscious gentility, narrow economic base, constrained resources and comparably modest urban ambitions. Monument Avenue's deliberate formality expressed the ideals, values, and special needs of a burgeoning class of professional and commercial elites, men with the power to shape public and private spaces appropriate to the promotion and maintenance of the new urban social order. Chapter Two begins by examining the ways in which the avenue functioned as an instrument of social status for the families that developed it. It goes on to discuss how Richmonders actually used the avenue, whether as a cultural arena for shared public rituals, as a setting for everyday domestic life, or--for many women, domestics, and a handful of professionals with home offices--as a workplace. Looking closely at the documented lives and practices of the families who made their homes there, the chapter deals, in particular, with the several strategies Monument Avenue residents employed not only to adapt its forms to their needs but also to manipulate its fabric to realize their social aspirations.

The third and fourth chapters address the architecture. The design of the buildings is discussed in terms of form and massing; interior arrangement of public, private, and service areas; and style. The more prominent architects who designed buildings along Monument Avenue are identified; characteristics of their Monument Avenue work are mentioned, and brief biographies are given, in order to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the architectural community. The fourth chapter looks at the buildings block by block, as they are experienced by casual viewers on the street. Thus descriptions of each building are mostly limited to the front facade and to the buildings in relation to others in their block. A selection of the buildings is further informed by their construction date and general ownership, in order to place the buildings in time and social stratum. Two appendices amplify this material: one on the architects who practiced on Monument Avenue, with a list of their commissions on the avenue, and the other a list of first owners and their occupations, to offer a sense of the kinds of people who chose Monument

Figure 1 Monument Avenue looking northwest across Lee Circle (with its original fence) ca. 1912, showing blocks of town houses up to and just beyond the Davis Monument in the distance. Valentine Museum.

Avenue for their homes.

This documentation of Monument Avenue includes a history both broad and specific, drawings that illuminate the text, and photographs that evoke the sweep of the buildings lining the avenue. It is hoped that this study will spark a renewed appreciation for the unique qualities of Monument Avenue--its history, its architecture, and the urban space that evolved.

CHAPTER 1: DEVELOPMENT OF MONUMENT AVENUE

by Kathy Edwards

Monument Avenue's place in the development of Richmond provides a case study of how the urban residential boulevard served many agendas and a number of social aspirations. At the same time, the avenue has a unique character and history that make it an exceptional addition to any survey of urban spaces. The ideological baggage of the avenue as a Confederate shrine cannot be completely separated out from its social profile as an exclusive private address: the monuments *are* the residential context, as much as the avenue itself.[1] The avenue's pattern of development is also exceptional. Despite appearances, the formal and architectural cohesiveness of the fourteen blocks between Lombardy Street and Roseneath Road--the extent of the Monument Avenue National Register District--was not the singular result of one inspired urban vision. Monument Avenue was, rather, the achievement of the marketplace, realized piecemeal in stops and starts through the efforts--contrary as often as cooperative--of developers, homeowners, architects, builders, real estate speculators, and various city offices, without the benefit of an overarching plan. Nonetheless, the avenue was conceived and, through the years, evolved in response to its citizens' negotiations between the kind of city Richmond was and the kind of city in which they cared to live. The story of Monument Avenue begins in the late 1880s.

RICHMOND IN THE 1880s

Richmond's broad and vigorous industrial base before the Civil War made it a rarity among Southern cities. Three industries--tobacco manufacturing, ironmaking and flour milling--supported a largely working-class population of nearly 38,000, supplying 85 percent of a total manufactured product that ranked thirteenth among U.S. cities, although Richmond was only twenty-fifth in population. From its port at Rockett's Landing on the James River, a fleet of locally owned brigs and schooners served a bustling international trade. In 1859 the city's seven flour mills, clustered along the river's edge, rivaled the production of the more than four dozen mills around Baltimore, fueling a South American trade that made Richmond a major market in coffee, spices and fertilizer. Fifty tobacco factories around Shockoe Slip and east of Shockoe Bottom grossed more than $5 million in 1860, while railroad expansion in the 1850s made Tredegar Iron Works, located just west of downtown at the base of Gamble's Hill, the south's most important foundry. The Tredegar shops employed more than 1,000 men even before production expanded to concentrate on supplying ordnance for the Confederacy. Richmond before the war was also the South's second-largest slave market after New Orleans, with sales run by local "commission merchants" netting $3 to $4 million annually.[2] Thirty-eight percent (14,275) of the city's 1860 population was black; of these 82 percent (11,705) were slaves--a major component in the manufacturing work force.[3] Most businesses, from dry goods stores to banks

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[1] See Kirk Savage, "Race, Memory, and Identity: The National Monuments of the Union and the Confederacy," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1990) for a critical analysis of the symbolic social and ideological functions of the monuments, and Monument Avenue as a ritual space.

[2] Michael Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 8-10, 214.

[3] Chesson, 15, 118. By 1860, the largest slave owners in the city were industrialists, tobacco manufacturers and railroad companies; less than one third of Richmond's white families owned slaves. Chesson, 15. At the outset of the war, the Tredegar works employed 800 black men, mostly slaves "either hired or bought outright." Virginius Dabney, Richmond, The Story of a City (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976; repr., Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 111.

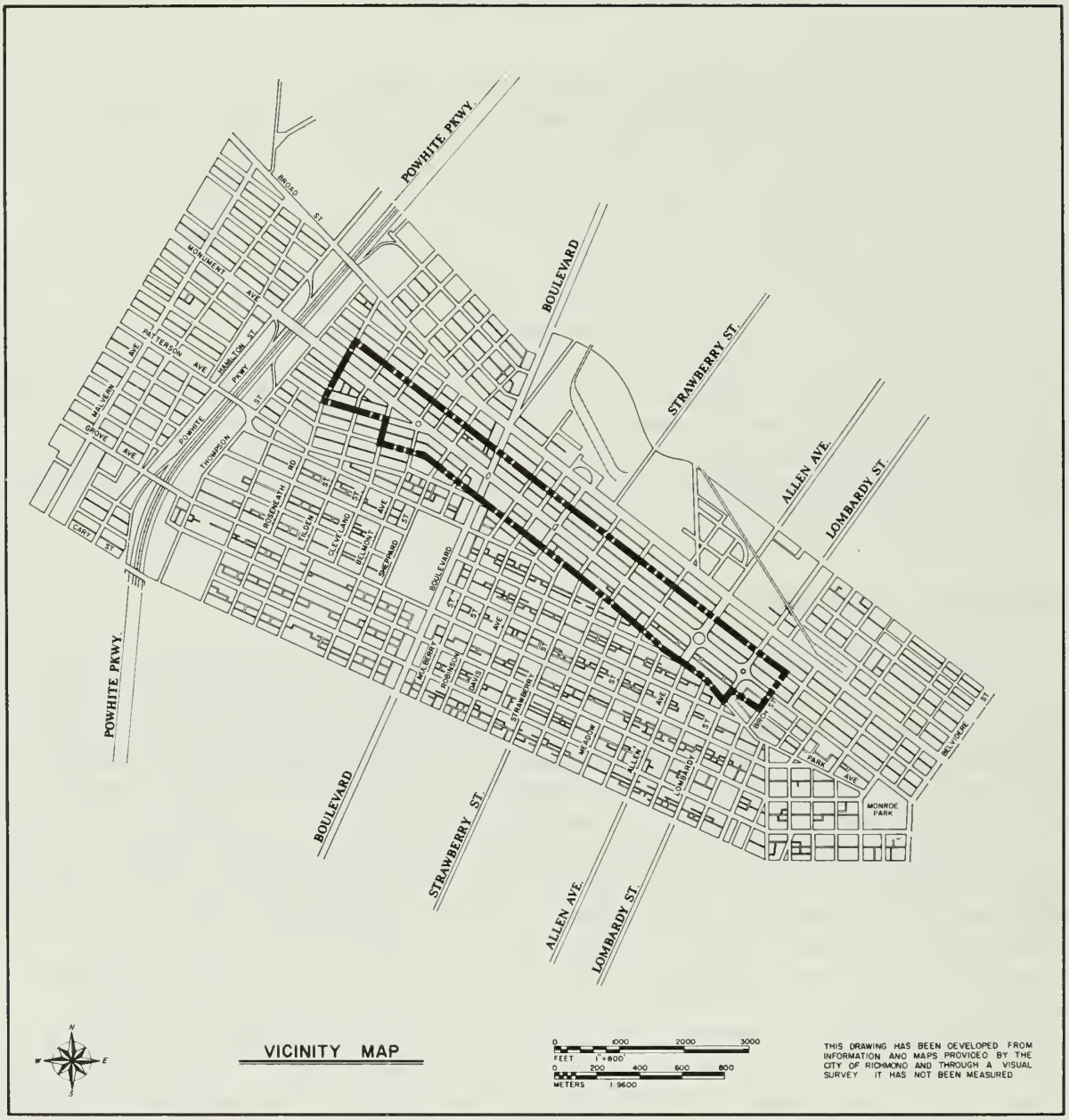

Figure 2 Monument Avenue and environs. Spodek, HABS.

to factories, were family-owned from generation to generation, and conservatively managed. The primary commercial district was along Main Street just south of Capitol Square, the "temple precinct" for the Neoclassical state capitol designed by Thomas Jefferson with the assistance of French architect C. L. Clerisseau, constructed 1795-98. City government, dominated by manufacturers, "old" (i.e., historically propertied) families, and, often, the personalities and associates of professional politicians in state government, was equally conservative and staunchly Democratic. The real centers of political activity were the many saloons throughout the city, especially in the commercial and industrial areas.

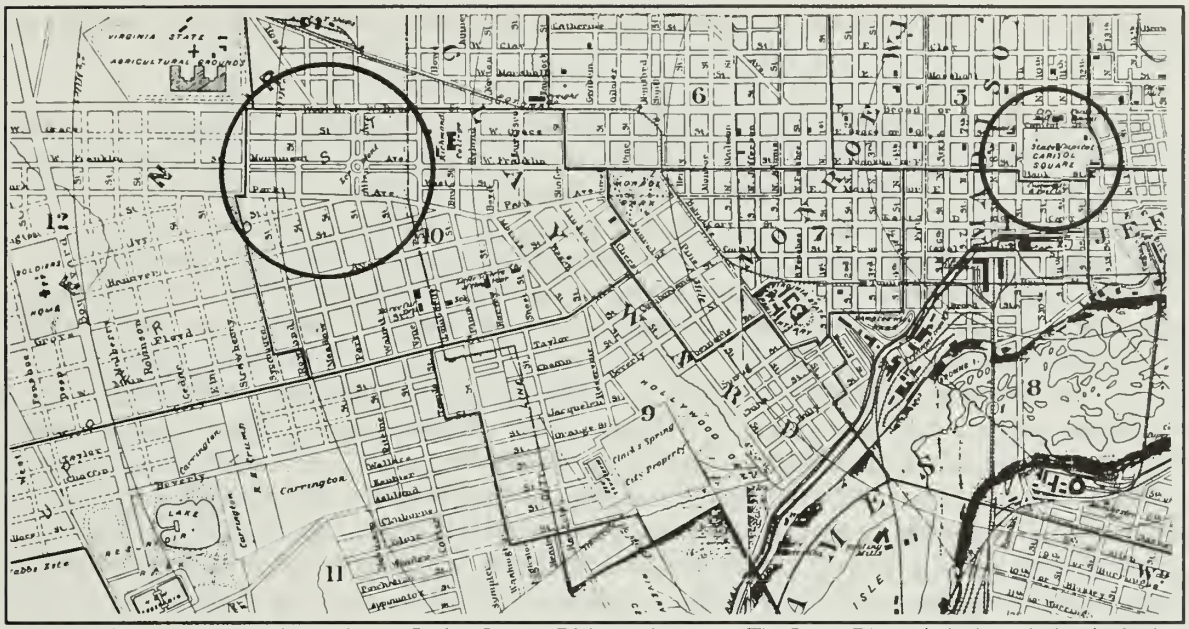

Figure 3 Monument Avenue in relation to Capitol Square, Richmond's center. The James River winds through the city in the lower right. Index map, 1889 Baist atlas.

In contrast, the Richmond that made Monument Avenue thirty years later and built on it after 1900 was an emerging middle-class bastion of "business progressives" in charge of a retail, service-economy town. Banks, merchandisers, insurance companies, government and jobbers were the "going" concerns, while tobacco, iron and flour accounted for only 43 percent of the city's total manufactured product.[4] The port of Richmond had also declined, a combination of the increasing size and draft of trading ships and the expensive impracticality of maintaining a channel in the shallow, rock-bottomed James River. Yet the city of more than 81,000[5] was aggressively expanding on the strength of an economic boom that temporarily obscured the waning vigor of the old industrial core. Businesses continued to be dynastic, and both government and business remained conservative, but now there was an emerging contingent of merchants, small manufacturers, realtors, doctors, lawyers, teachers and other professionals involved in merchants' associations, business clubs, civic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce or running for City Council, all pushing for a say in the course of the city's growth.

More than a war had intervened to turn the one city into the other, yet the effect of the war was indelible. Long, hard years of siege left the city's economy gutted, its physical infrastructure in tatters, and all transportation routes except those to the South destroyed. At the end, the 1865 evacuation fire set by retreating Confederate forces to deprive the Union of the city's remaining resources burned the commercial and industrial district to the ground, including docks and factories along the river, train depots and bridges, and every bank and saloon in the city. The Burnt District, as it was called, stretched from Capitol Square to the river. Of the former city, only the historic governmental precinct and the surrounding residential fabric of a

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[4]Chesson, 198. The manufacturing figure is from 1890; the remaining 57 percent came from a diverse array of second- and third-tier industries that fueled the growing jobbing trade. Two years later, jobbing sales surpassed the value of Richmond's manufactures.

[5]81,388 in 1890; 85,050 in 1900. Chesson, 118.

highly stratified, tradition-bound social order survived, along with one mill and the Tredegar works.

During Reconstruction, old-line Democrats threw their energies into the intense struggle to wrest political control of the former Confederate capital away from encroaching Republican Northerners, blacks and labor. Because the task of actually rebuilding the city was largely left to individual initiative, Richmond's recovery lagged behind that of other Southern cities, such as Atlanta, which were even more devastated by the war.[6] By the late 1870s there were strong signs of recovery, but the city's economic landscape was fundamentally different. The big three industries still dominated the economy but were weakened; after a temporary resurgence in the 1880s, they would fade in importance, outstripped by other markets, new technologies, more progressively managed competitors, and better transportation in other regions. The center of the flour-milling industry shifted to the upper Midwest, while Baltimore's deep water port and rail connections attracted the export trade. Richmond remained the nation's tobacco capital through the 1880s, with more than 120 factories in operation in 1891, but the new popularity of cigarette-smoking caused a decline in Richmond's fortunes. James B. Duke's early adoption of the new cigarette-rolling machine helped his North Carolina-based American Tobacco Company become the industry giant by the turn of the century, buying up Richmond's largest tobacco houses along the way.[7]

The owners of the Tredegar works, after declaring insolvency in 1876 and operating at much-reduced capacity, lacked the capital to convert to steel manufacture and remain competitive, although they expanded enough in the 1880s-90s by producing steam engines and hardware for the railroads to eventually employ 6,000 men. The works were bought out at the turn of the century by Northern interests seeking to quash competition; by 1910 they were dismantled. The new era brought diversification to the city's economy, with an increased number of small-scale, low-capital manufacturers that nonetheless produced less in aggregate. More important than ever as a regional production, merchandising and banking center, Richmond's reputation as a ready wholesale and retail market attracted businessmen, brokers, bankers, lawyers and other professionals, but historian Michael Chesson points to this period as "the decline of the entrepot" in terms of a national market and the waning of the city's chances to achieve truly metropolitan status.[8]

The pace and character of post-war recovery and the new economic profile of the city owed much to the longstanding conservatism of a civic elite that trusted firmly in the virtues of an unhindered marketplace, while suspecting any attempts at social or economic activism and intervention. Democratic policies also significantly influenced the demographics of the slow return to prosperity, beginning in the late 1870s. Local observers saw the light of a new day as early as 1876, when the Richmond Whig and Advertiser of April 4 reported:

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[6]Atlanta benefitted from active railroads, some federal investment, and municipal involvement. Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Continuity and Change: Southern Urban Development, 1860-1900," The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South, Brownell and Goldfield, eds. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977), 97.

[7]Rabinowitz, 107; Chesson, 201; Dabney, 247.

[8]"Crowds flocking to [the 1881 Yorktown celebration] . . . bypassed the Confederate capital, just as the nation and trends of commerce and industry were beginning to bypass Richmond. The decline of the entrepot, with its far-reaching effects upon Richmond trade and manufacturing, was a prelude to the city's increasing importance as a shrine of the Lost Cause." Chesson, 168.

> A new race of rich people have been gradually springing up among us, who owe their wealth to successful trade and especially to manufactures. . . . They are taking the leading place not only in our political and financial affairs, but are pressing to the front for social recognition. . . . We no longer contemn the filthy lucre. . . . Our provincial characteristics are fast disappearing, and we are not only advancing toward metropolitan development, but are losing our petty, narrow prejudices and becoming truly cosmopolitan. . . we are no longer a village but a city.[9]

By the 1880s, Richmond was "roaring with progress." A reporter for the New York Times described the city in January 1887 as "pregnant . . . with a new epoch" and "born again," "with snap and go, with push and enterprise, with commercial ambition, with industrial purpose, upon development intent." The same month, Harper's Weekly trumpeted the former Confederate capital's apparent resurgence as an industrial center as proof of the passing of the Old South and the dawn of "a new order."[10] The city's own heady sense of its new potential and an aroused "urban consciousness"--most often expressed as unabashed boosterism--influenced the direction and character of Richmond's growth on into the early decades of the new century. Throughout this period, fiscal liberals and conservatives within the Democratic city government vied over the right to publicly style themselves as "progressives," the rightful interpreters of the New South vision.

But Richmond's "progressives" had little in common with the Progressive-era reform ethos so dominant in U.S. cities of the same period. Rather than addressing social reform or the improvement of conditions--issues overwhelmingly tainted with the "race issue" in these Jim Crow years--proponents of a "Greater Richmond" styled urban growth as "progress" and governmental efficiency as "reform." Fiscal liberals and conservatives disagreed mainly over the extent to which government should promote--conservatives would say "interfere with"--growth. The resulting failure to address both immediate social needs and long-term economic recovery was not a new turn, but the ongoing legacy of Old South conservative leadership.[11]

The bureaucratic structure of Richmond's city government reinforced retrenchment by diffusing the voices of opposition and change. In 1890 the city's six wards each elected three representatives to the Board of Aldermen and five members of the Common Council, the two bodies that comprised the City Council. Twenty-five separate council committees determined city policy and governed day-to-day activity on every level, from finance to street paving. This elaborately ingrown structure rendered "planning" in an effectively urban sense impractical, while it suited a commercial and civic elite that believed Richmond's best interests would be served by the "natural" workings of a free marketplace. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the Council was heavily weighted with names from the city's social register and Chamber of Commerce roster.[12]

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[9]Quoted in C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 150-51; and Christopher Silver, Twentieth-Century Richmond, Planning, Politics, and Race (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 19.

[10]New York Times, 14 January 1887, quoted in Chesson, 172; Harper's Weekly, 15 January 1887; Dabney, 247.

[11]Silver, 14, 58.

[12]Silver, 43, 89. Richmond's first planning commission was organized under the new city charter of 1918.

Chesson describes a short period in the 1880s when an apparent liberal turn created an atmosphere in which some amelioration of social and racial inequities in the city seemed possible.[13] A split in the Democratic Party allowed a surge in Republican strength, resulting in a higher representation of black and working-class interests on the council. The only black aldermen and councilmen elected were Republicans from Jackson Ward, an area north of downtown that was home to one-half of the city's black population and that continued to place blacks on the council into the first years of the 1900s. Unionism, supported by the Knights of Labor-backed Workingmen's Reform party, brought black and white workers together in 1886 long enough to add two blacksmiths, a cobbler, and a tanner to the City Council to join blacks in a majority-controlling "labor-dominated reform coalition." But the election of Fitzhugh Lee, former Confederate general and nephew of Robert E. Lee, to the governorship in 1885 brought new unity and strength to the Democratic Party; the reform coalition was ousted from city government in 1887.[14] Evidence of a reform vision lingered as late as 1889, when Lewis Harvie Blair, "an aristocratic Richmond reformer and critic of the prevailing social order in the South," published a book-length argument against racial discrimination, The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro. In the early 1900s, however, Blair reversed his position and became a strident segregationist.[15]

At the 1901-02 Virginia Constitutional Convention, the Democratic majority pushed through an amendment that effectively disenfranchised most blacks and working-class whites in the state, cutting off the base of Republicanism in Virginia for decades to come. Richmond's Jackson Ward was gerrymandered out of existence in redistricting just prior to the municipal elections of 1904; thereafter, no ward had enough black strength to elect blacks to the Council, but other factors also worked against liberalism. Five-term mayor Richard M. Taylor's decision to allow state militia troops to assist in "policing" a protracted 1903 strike by streetcar motormen and conductors escalated the violence of the failed effort and helped turn the 1904 election toward Carlton McCarthy, a conservative candidate backed by the city's leading business interests. McCarthy ran a "progressive campaign" for "greater efficiency" in government and more active promotion of urban expansion. His victory showed the growing strength of the city's emerging middle class, especially the affluent West End vote, which also added seven members of Richmond's social elite to the Council that year.[16]

The percentage of blacks and working-class whites in the total population, which had been declining since Reconstruction, was further diminished in the early years of the 1900s by aggressive campaigns to annex exclusively white, mostly middle-class suburbs around the city's

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[13]Chesson, 186-97. Black involvement in working-class reform in Richmond after the war is a central theme in Peter Rachleff's Black Labor in Richmond, 1865-1890 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

[14]Woodward, 230; Silver, 42, 54; Chesson, 182-88.

[15]Chesson, 197; Dabney, 258.

[16]"What was noteworthy about the 1904 voter turnout was its substantial reduction from previous elections. Although the Times-Dispatch commented that the 5,167 votes in the 1904 mauyoralty election was 'considerably larger than had been expected,' this represented a decline by 4,821 votes over the total in the 1902 election. Only a handful of blacks voted in 1902 and thus the near halving of the vote total underscored the restrictive character of the 1902 constitutional changes on white participation. The victory of Carlton McCarthy over Taylor in the 1904 mayoral contest, combined with the results of the council races, marked a shift in power from the largely working-class east end to the rising power of the more affluent west end precincts." Silver, 43, 50.

periphery. The city's laissez-faire attitude toward maintaining urban fabric and the unease of middle- and upper-class whites over concentrations of blacks and laborers in urban neighborhoods contributed to the growing desirability of outlying areas during this period.[17] What made the extension of white residential areas beyond the historic "walking city" possible was a program of technological and civic improvements through the 1870s and 1880s, mostly fostered by commercial interests intent upon pushing local government into urban development.

Prosperity and increased population brought by industrial and business recovery after the depression of 1873 sparked a real estate and construction boom that helped carry the city through a recession in the mid-1880s and escalated on into the early years of the 1890s. A new city reservoir in 1876 and a new pumphouse upriver on the James in 1883 expanded the city's available water supply. Richmond's first private electrical power company, organized in 1881, had two competitors by 1883. The city began replacing gas streetlamps with electric lights in 1884; by 1886 a city-owned plant supplied the power that lit major streets and some parks. Backed by Boston money, Southern Bell Telephone Company opened the nation's third telephone exchange in 1879. These utilities, along with expanded fire and police departments and street paving, helped fuel the boom within the city, but electric streetcar service, inaugurated in 1888, made outlying settlements practical and accessible for the middle class.[18]

The streetcar opened up new land for private development and served the sorting out process that maintained stable relations between the races. At the same time, the annexation of these white, middle- and upper-class improved districts helped keep blacks and laborers minorities in the total population. The initial line ran from downtown east to Church Hill, west out Broad Street, and west out Main Street to the new city park around the reservoir. Competing lines sprang up almost immediately; there were eight streetcar companies in operation in Richmond in the first years of the new century. "By 1910, more than a score of exclusively white middle-class 'streetcar suburbs' ringed Richmond, most of which would soon be incorporated into the city through annexation."[19]

A number of developers sought to maximize the potential of the streetcar to attract prospective suburbanites by opening "public resorts" at the ends of their lines. Tobacco magnate Lewis Ginter built a man-made lake and amusement park at the end of the Lakeside line in 1892 as a means of promoting his exclusive Ginter Park development north of the city.[20] Such amenities proved a major attraction in a city that made little provision for public spaces or

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[17]With the exception of Oregon Hill, a white working-class neighborhood of mostly ironworkers who refused to allow blacks in, Richmond did not have a policy or tradition of exclusively white or black neighborhoods. Even Jackson Ward, the city's most concentrated black neighborhood, was 23 percent white in the 1890s. But whereas all wards and most neighborhoods may have had both black and white populations, segregation was rigidly enforced by block. In 1911 this unwritten policy became an official residential segregation ordinance, which made it illegal for a black to move into a "traditionally" white block, or for a white to move into a black block. Silver, 31, 110; Howard Rabinowitz, Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 105-7.

[18]Chesson, 177-79; Valentine Museum vertical files: Richmond utilities.

[19]Silver, 38, 40. Among these were Barton Heights, Brookland Heights, Fairfield, Fairmount, Highland Park, Forest Hill, Fulton, Fulton Hill, Ginter Park, Lakeside, Leonard Heights, Maddox Hill, Riverview, Swansboro, Walnut Hill, Woodland Heights, Westhampton, and Woodville. Silver, 61. Windsor Farms was the premier development of the 1920s.

[20]Silver, 40.

recreation. In 1851, hoping to encourage expansion and stimulate real estate development, the city purchased three "squares" in areas around its boundaries to serve as parks for its citizenry. Jefferson Square (now Libby Hill) was the highest point east of the city, Madison Square (Gamble's Hill) south and west of downtown offered a view of the James River and of the Capitol, and Western Square (Monroe Park) lay directly in the path of the extension of Cary, Main and Franklin streets, the city's most fashionable addresses.[21] In 1874 the city set aside funds to purchase property for Chimborazo Park east of Church Hill, and included appropriations for a proposed adjacent park in its budget for a new reservoir in the West End the same year.[22] Once the streetcar line was extended to Reservoir Park, increased patronage stimulated its expansion to 300 acres.

Figure 4 Unveiled in 1858, Thomas Crawford's Washington Monument in Capitol Square was the scale desired by the directors of the Lee Monument Association for Jean Antonin Mercié's sculpture of Lee. 1893 photograph. Valentine Museum.

Altogether, the tendency of civic leaders to view parks more as instruments of urban expansion than as the sort of public amenity and civic beautification normally provided by city government was in keeping with overriding municipal emphasis on the City Functional over the City Beautiful. In the minds of Richmond's leaders, the "good city" was socially stable but economically dynamic, ever expanding from its roots sunk deep in tradition and an enlightened sense of its own history.[23]

In fact, Richmond was rich with "public spaces" of another sort. The city abounded with monuments to its historic role in the settling of the Virginia colony, to its association with leading figures and events in the Revolutionary War and the early years of the new nation, and especially to its late pre-eminence as the capital of the failed

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[21] Dabney, 153. According to local historian Drew Carneal, "The immediate goal of this early venture into city planning was of course to create a more beautiful and healthy city, yet the Council also anticipated that these public green spaces, tastefully established and laid out, would add to the city's tax base by attracting new and taxable residential development around each park." Carneal, "A History of the Fan District, Richmond, Virginia," Tms, chapter 6, page 7.

[22] W. Asbury Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), 343-44.

[23] It was not until the 1880s that the city provided every ward except Jackson Ward with a landscaped park and playground. From 1884 into the 1890s, the Council agreed time and again to discuss a park for Jackson Ward but always refused to designate a site. Chesson, 193.

Confederacy. Inside Thomas Jefferson's monumental temple of a Capitol building stood the exquisite sculpture of George Washington carved from life by Jean Antoine Houdon. St. John's Church on Church Hill, setting for Patrick Henry's famous "liberty or death" declaration; the home of Supreme Court Justice John Marshall in Court End; Robert Mills' Monumental Church, memorial to the many who died in a theater fire on the downtown site in 1811; Thomas Crawford's 1855 Washington Monument on Capitol Square, perhaps the grandest public sculpture in the nation in its day--these and more justified Richmond's claim to be "a city of monuments." Public art and public commemoration were part of the fabric of the city's self-perception, accepted as an appropriate expression of the collective ethos.[24] The implicit irony of simultaneous popular reverence for the sacred relics of republican nationalism and Southern separatism was not lost on Richmond's citizenry; the legacy they embraced as Southerners was often as internally contradictory as it was complex.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Richmonders turned to commemoration with something akin to a vengeance. In its scope and duration, the turn became an obsession, fueled by the passions of a conflict that still tore at the hearts of its survivors and loomed in the imagination of a later generation as the romantic, tragic, heroic Lost Cause. The drama and devastation of the war years lingered in all their harsh reality in the former Confederate capital and "Holy of Holies," in Robert E. Lee's house on East Franklin Street, in the White House of the Confederacy at Twelfth and Clay streets that was home to Jefferson Davis during his presidency, the West Grace Street house where J. E. B. Stuart was brought to die after the Battle of Yellow Tavern, the old prison camps on Belle Isle and east of town, the many surviving buildings that had served as temporary hospitals in the last days of the war, the remaining ruins of the Burnt District, the great network of battlements that still circled the city, and more.

But the memories stirred by relics were not, of themselves, enough to give rise to this cult of the Lost Cause. "Unforeseen prosperity" in the 1880s made a proper commemoration of the war affordable for the first time, and several individual, independently run monument campaigns, some of which dated to the war, gained momentum in the flush years. The Confederate Soldiers' Home (Robert E. Lee Camp No. 1) opened on New Year's Day, 1885, on the old Robinson estate two miles west of town, but the death of Jefferson Davis in December 1889 was the real spark that lit the eternal flame of Southern memory. Davis's death was an especially symbolic event for many former soldiers who, twenty years after the surrender, were now leaders in their communities, with the interest and influence to back commemorative projects.[25] Less than six months later, 100,000 persons attended a Confederate reunion in Richmond capped by the unveiling of the Robert E. Lee Monument in a field west of the city--the culmination of an effort that began in 1870 the day after Lee's death. A monument to General A. P. Hill was unveiled on Memorial Day, 1892, at the intersection of Laburnum Avenue and Hermitage Road north of the city; one year later Hill's remains were reinterred beneath his statue. Jefferson Davis's body was brought from New Orleans to Hollywood Cemetery and reburied in a ceremony attended by 20,000. A monument to the Richmond Howitzers was dedicated in 1892 in a park at Park Avenue and Harrison Street, and a great column and statue commemorating the soldiers and

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[24]Robert Winthrop, "The Monuments and Boulevards of Richmond," Tms.

[25]"Equestrian Lee for Richmond," Harper's Weekly 34 (June 1890): 470; Chesson, 204.

Figure 5 The unveiling of the equestrian statue of Lee on Monument Avenue on May 29, 1890, climaxed a massive Confederate reunion in Richmond. Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy.

sailors of the Confederacy was unveiled in 1894 on Libby Hill.[26]

Prominent local artist Mann S. Valentine II died in 1892 and left his historic house and collection to the city; the Valentine Museum opened in 1898. The owners of Lee's wartime residence in Richmond offered the house to the Virginia Historical Society as a headquarters in 1893; the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography began publication that year. In 1896 the White House of the Confederacy was converted into a Confederate museum, the same year that the cornerstone for a monument to Jefferson Davis was laid in Monroe Park, topping off another Confederate reunion in the city. In 1903 the Richmond City Council appropriated $50,000 to build a Confederate "battle abbey" in the city, a project that would not be completed until 1921.[27] Voters elected Civil War historian Carlton McCarthy as their mayor in 1904, and in 1907 the 200,000 people attending "the biggest reunion of them all" saw monuments to

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[26]Christian, 406, 424, 426, 427, 438, 451; Dabney, 244; Louis H. Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, The History of Henrico County (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 349-50.

[27]Now the Virginia Historical Society, the building is located at Boulevard and Kensington Avenue, two blocks south of Monument Avenue.

Confederate General J. E. B. Stuart and Confederate President Jefferson Davis unveiled on Monument Avenue.[28] The commemorative zeal for the Lost Cause carried to 1929 on the avenue, with the unveiling of the monument to Confederate oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury.

The cult of the Lost Cause was hardly a local phenomenon; historian Charles Reagan Wilson has chronicled the broad scope and enduring rhetoric of the struggle to redefine a separate Southern cultural identity after the war. The former Confederate capital was the principal sacred shrine of this "Southern civil religion"; eventually, Monument Avenue would become "the sacred road to it."[29] Reunion fever burned in the Southern imagination after the United Confederate Veterans organized in New Orleans in 1889; the United Daughters of the Confederacy dedicated themselves to the cause in Atlanta in 1895.[30] But, according to Michael Chesson, in turning to commemoration Richmonders were not only remembering the past--they were retreating to it:

> A passion for the Lost Cause became the vogue for white residents, who divided their allegiance between a dead nation and a living one and convinced themselves that they were both loyal Americans and steadfast rebels as they worshiped at Confederate shrines. By the 1890s, tradition, sentimentality, racism, and the collective weight of the past had eclipsed the progressive vision and the decline was complete. Richmond became what it remained for decades: the old city of the New South.[31]

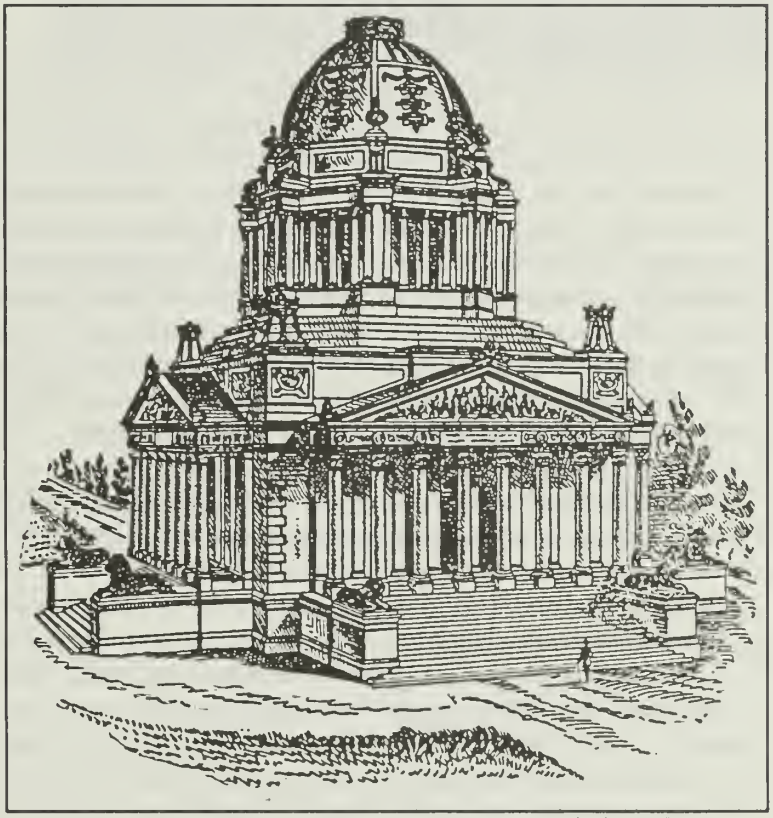

Figure 6 Architect Percy Griffin's design for a monument to Jefferson Davis, patterned after Soufflot's Panthéon in Paris. Planned for a Monroe Park site, it was never built. Richmond Dispatch, June 1896.

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[28]Christian, 488, 542; Dabney, 254, 261, 275.

[29]Charles Reagan Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 29.

[30]Woodward, 156.

[31]Chesson, 171-72.

THE LEE MONUMENT AND INAUGURATION OF THE AVENUE

> From Lee's seat in the saddle the view is of a city of homelike but modern and beautiful dwellings; a city looking lovely indeed, especially in the early morning when the first buzz of busy life begins; when the dew is sparkling upon the foliage of the parks, and the broad-leafed maples throw over the sidewalks their cooling shade; but lovelier still on a genial afternoon when crowds promenade Franklin street and extend their walks to the monument-grounds, endowing the grace and beauty of the picture with the joy of youth, with the laughter of merry spirits, and the sunniness of temper that belongs to the dress-parade of fashion.
>
> Richmond Dispatch, April 4, 1888

> General Lee personified what was best in a bad cause.
>
> Harper's Weekly, June 14, 1890

Monument Avenue was born of the decision, made official in June 1887, to locate a Confederate memorial to General Robert E. Lee in a field west of the city limits on property belonging to the heirs of William C. Allen. Such a monument had been discussed ever since Lee's death in 1870, and the long campaign to bring it to fruition was funded by an unprecedented public subscription throughout the former Confederate states.[32] The Lee monument was the South's first great effort to commemorate the Lost Cause, and its significance transcended city issues: this was to be, in a sense, a national monument, and every particular pertaining to it elicited extensive discussion throughout the former Confederate states.[33] Two organizations--the original Lee Monument Association, a veterans' group founded by former Confederate general Jubal Early, and the Ladies' Lee Monument Association, composed of the board of the Hollywood Cemetery Memorial Association--went about fundraising in competition with one another until Governor Fitzhugh Lee brought the two organizations together in 1886 under a board of state officials headed by the governor.

In the long campaign for the monument, there had been no problem reaching a consensus that this was to be an equestrian statue, as fine as Crawford's monument to Washington in Capitol Square (fig. 4). That Richmond, the Confederate capital, was the most appropriate location for the memorial was also accepted with little discussion. But within the city, different groups and interests disagreed over an appropriate site, lobbying for their preferences according to a variety of symbolic, aesthetic or economic agendas. The controversy heated up once the consolidated monument association awarded the commission to French sculptor Jean Antonin Mercié in 1887 and work actually began on the statue. Sites considered and publicly discussed were Capitol Square, preferred as the city's traditional monumental precinct; Gamble's Hill, a mid-town prominence overlooking the James River above the legendary Tredegar Iron Works; Monroe Park, just west of downtown in the heart of an increasingly affluent neighborhood; Hollywood Cemetery, deemed the most appropriate commemorative ground; Libby Hill, the highest point east of the city, with a view of downtown, the river, the battlefields to the east and

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[32]For a thorough discussion of the history of the monument associations, the principals involved and the intricacies of the subscription campaign, see Jay Killian Bowman Williams, Changed Views and Unforeseen Prosperity: Richmond of 1890 Gets a Monument to Lee (Richmond: privately printed, 1969), and Carden McGehee, Jr., "The Planning, Sculpture, and Architecture of Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1980).

[33]Kirk Savage examines the public debates over the artistry of the monument in his second chapter, "Art and the Public."

the former prison camp and ironworks at Belle Isle; and the Confederate Soldiers' Home in the far West End.

Figure 7 Charles Niehaus's winning design for the Lee Monument at the Libby Hill site chosen by the Ladies' Lee Monument Association in 1886, as illustrated in the New York Daily Graphic, March 17, 1886. Drew Carneal.

Sarah Nicholas Randolph, president of the Ladies' Lee Monument Association, had already accepted the city's offer, in 1882, of the Libby Hill site. The land had subsequently been deeded to the association, and even the 1884 announcement of (what was considered at the time) the final design competition indicated that models submitted should be for that site. But an ongoing discussion reported in the Richmond Dispatch on March 28, 1886, was clear evidence that parties dissatisfied with that eventuality wielded enough influence to keep the matter in the public forum, only days after Charles Niehaus's winning design was published in New York newspapers. The Dispatch published the results of its own poll of prominent citizens on the question of what would be the ideal site for the monument. The very last opinion cited in the full-page article was offered by "Captain O. S. Allen, of the Stuart Horse Guard," who declared, "No better situation could be obtained than at the head of Franklin Street. There is a prospect of the street being opened, and a place similar to Monument place in Baltimore being laid out. Should this be done, where is a situation to compare with it?" This was probably the first public mention of a residential precinct along an extension of Franklin Street as an appropriate site for Lee. The Dispatch reporter failed to point out that the large tract of land directly in the path of Franklin Street was known as "the Allen lot," and belonged to Otway S. Allen and his sisters.

Once the two monument associations were consolidated under the new state board, Governor Lee seized the reorganization as an opportunity to lobby for the site he supported over the one the ladies had unilaterally chosen. On June 19, 1886, the Dispatch reported that the board of managers of the Lee Monument Association, including Governor Lee, the state auditor, the state treasurer, Colonel Archer Anderson (Confederate veteran and son of the owner of Tredegar Iron Works), and the officers of the ladies' association were meeting to decide upon the design and the site of the monument. The announcement reported that it "will either be the Allan [sic] lot or Gamble's Hill," and that "those who favor [the Allen] site propose that it shall be widened so as to make a grand boulevard, with room for rows of trees down the middle, &c., and to intersect Reservoir avenue [the Boulevard] in the neighborhood of the Soldiers' Home."

According to the deed dated July 14, 1887, the association accepted the Allen heirs' offer of a site for the Lee monument on the Allen lot "in consideration of the original advantages of the location, and especially of the very desirable plan and arrangement of the surroundings offered by the grantors, and their dedication of the broad avenues hereinafter more fully set forth." Along with the conveyance of Lee Circle, 200' in diameter, to the monument association

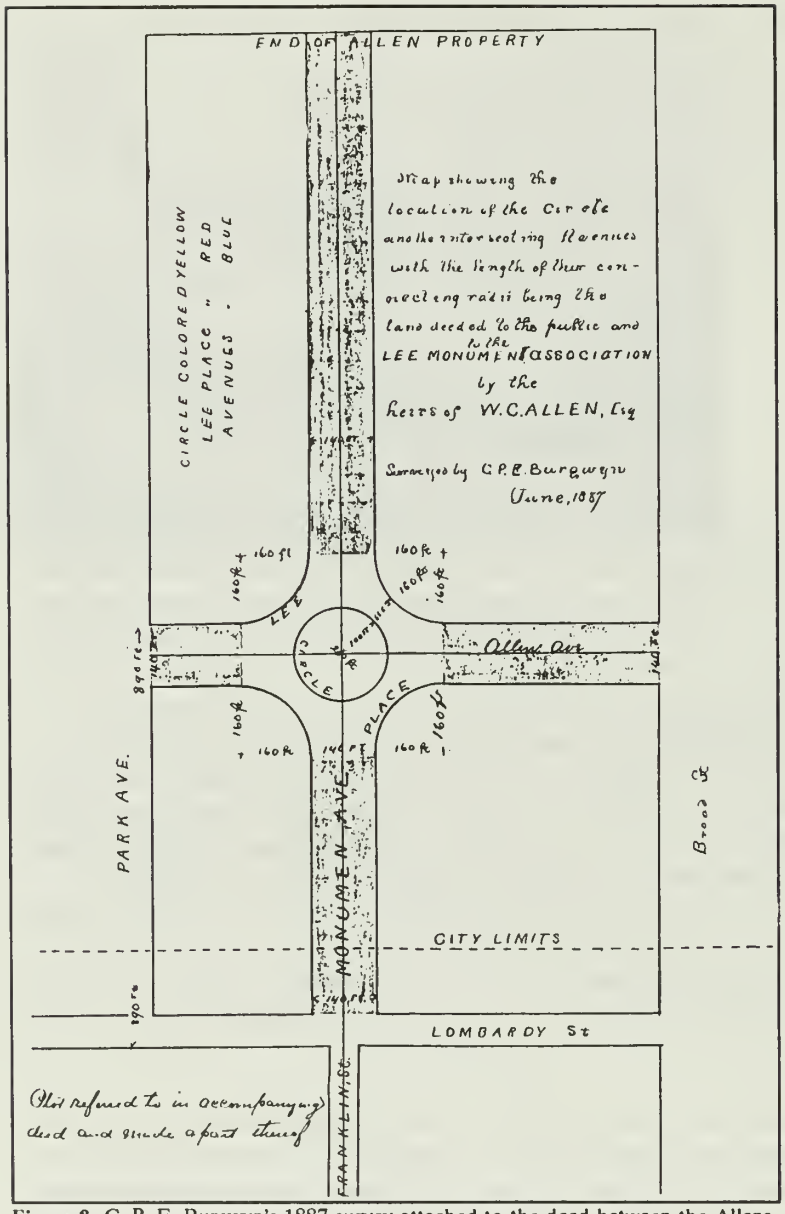
END OF ALLEN PROPERTY
CIRCLE COLORED YELLOW
LEE PLACE - RED
AVENUES - BLUE
Map showing the location of the Circle and the intersecting Avenues with the length of their connecting radii being the land deeded to the public and to the LEE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION by the heirs of W.C. ALLEN, Esq
Surveyed by C.P.E. Burgwyn June, 1887
160 ft + 160 ft
LEE
CIRCLE
Allen Ave
PARK AVE.
MONUMENT AVE.
PLACE
CITY LIMITS
LOMBARDY St
FRANKLIN St
Not referred to in accompanying deed and made a part thereof

Figure 8 C. P. E. Burgwyn's 1887 survey attached to the deed between the Allens and the Lee Monument Association was the first illustration of Monument Avenue's plan. Richmond Deed Book 133A: 222.

by the Allens, both parties dedicated "to the public" a total of eleven acres laid out in intersecting boulevards 140' wide.[34] Accompanying this deed was a diagram by C. P. E. Burgwyn, city engineer and consulting engineer to the Lee Monument Association, showing Lee Circle and its relationship to the proposed thoroughfares.[35] The whole plan was contingent, according to the deed, upon the city's agreement to lay out, grade and plant trees along the new avenues, to curb and pave sidewalks, and extend gas and water mains to the property without cost to the owners.[36]

Objections to the site and the proposal arose immediately, from a number of quarters, and escalated once the cornerstone was actually laid October 27, 1887. Sarah Randolph caught the winds of dissent even in Paris, where she was consulting with Mercié. In a letter to Archer Anderson dated only two weeks after the cornerstone ceremony, she wrote noncommittally, "I hear there is a wail of disapproval and disgust at the site since the laying of the

[34]The designation "to the public" was deliberately vague; land in Henrico County could not be dedicated to the city of Richmond directly, but the developers, looking to the city to undertake and finance the improvement of these streets (while hoping to avoid entanglements with the county), anticipated that Henrico officials and taxpayers would be most reluctant to invest in improvements on a tract that was obviously destined for annexation by the city.

[35]This is the earliest known diagram of the scheme. Otway Allen's remarks to the Dispatch in March of the preceding year, however, indicate that the plan, if not already worked out at that time, was at least under development.

[36]Richmond City Court, deed book 133A: 122-25; Dispatch, October 12, 1886.

corner stone."[37] Some argued against the West End site on aesthetic grounds, pointing out that Lee would be out in a bare pasture without so much as a road through it and not on the prominence such a monument required for proper viewing (although newspaper accounts pointed out that the site was higher than the roof of the Capitol). The American Architect and Building News derided the placement of the statue "in the middle of a barren and featureless plain" nearly 300 yards west of the city limits, "and all because land-speculators were able to pull enough wires to have the site changed."[38] Proponents of the site countered with the insistence that a grand monument, comparable to Crawford's monument to Washington on the Capitol grounds, should command an equally monumental space, and should rightfully culminate a long, grand vista.

Others objected on larger, more fundamental principles. John Mitchell, Jr., editor of the Planet, Richmond's black newspaper, and councilmember from Jackson Ward, took issue with the whole concept of spending city funds to honor Confederate heroes. In an editorial campaign that culminated in a powerful statement entitled "What It Means," published the day after the monument's unveiling, Mitchell pointed out that the whole enterprise smacked of Southern nationalism and treason. Still, he carefully avoided language that might be construed as a direct linkage between reverence for Lee and racism; his critique addressed issues of fiscal responsibility and representative municipal government.[39]

Equally vehement opposition decried the exploitation of the monument to promote the private development interests of Richmond's elite. The subdivision of the Allen tract into marketable residential lots coincided with the transfer of title of the site to the monument association. Fitzhugh Lee, purportedly a close friend of Otway Allen, was aggressive in his lobbying for the West End site.[40] In a frank presentation before the Common Council in October 1886, aimed at inducing the city to contribute $20,000 for the base of the monument, Lee appeared in his capacity as president of the Lee Monument Association (by virtue of the fact that he was also governor of the state) to argue that the Allen site would contribute to the development of the West End, making annexation inevitable and thus raising revenues for the city already destined to grow in that direction. What Lee presented was a straightforward business proposition; his appeal was neither to sentiment nor Confederate fealty but to civic responsibility: the Lee monument in the service of development made good business sense to the city.[41] The Lynchburg News denounced "the placement of a statue paid for out of the pockets of the entire South, in a 'remote and inaccessible suburb of Richmond,'" admonishing the association both for its apparent lack of proper respect for the dignity of the enterprise and for betraying its high public mission in favor of crass private interests.[42] The Richmond Whig, reporting this

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[37]November 11, 1887. Archer Anderson papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

[38]34, no. 829: 104.

[39]Richmond Planet, May 31, 1890. Also discussed in Williams, 60.

[40]McGehee and Williams both claim that there was a close Allen/Lee connection, although McGehee's assumption is probably based on Williams' evidence, which is not explicit.

[41]Within the Council, Lee was opposed by Populist sentiment, represented by the Workingman's Labor Party, a Knights of Labor group that held temporary sway over Richmond's government in 1886-87. Council voted against appropriating the funds.

[42]Williams, 35.

controversy, added rather primly that "to use it as a means of promoting a land speculation, or building up a suburb to help fill the city's coffers, would be placing the matter on rather a lower plane than the public would like to see it assume."[43]

Nevertheless, to the minds of many Richmonders, Governor Lee's argument before the City Council was not only sensible but obvious. In describing the monument's proposed situation in 1888, the Dispatch stated:

> A year or two ago [the site] and much of the country about it was a grassy plain. Now it is laid off into avenues and streets, and is almost the centre of the great "West-End boom," and out from the city the line of fashionable houses is marching; indeed is already close up to the monument-grounds. . . Few doubt that in the course of five years the Lee circle will be in the very heart of the fashionable neighborhood of Richmond. The prices that are asked and will be obtained for those lots forbid the idea that the houses erected in that section will be anything but handsome, and most of them will have elegant grounds.

The same article breezily predicted that "the celerity with which houses will rise about Lee Circle will be both a wonder and a delight."[44]

The long-anticipated unveiling of the Lee Monument in Richmond was the climax of a massive veterans' reunion that drew tens of thousands of Confederate flag-waving, parading celebrants to the former Southern capital at the end of May 1890. Harper's Weekly described the event as "a mighty tribute to the central figure of a lost cause" attended, the account's Northern author hastened to add, "by an undercurrent of satisfaction even that the cause was lost." More than 100,000 persons--including fifty former generals and no less than 15,000 uniformed veterans in the line of march--descended upon the city in a "great throng" drawn by "the influence of old associations, and not political feeling." The editorial intent of the magazine's account was to assure the nation that the flag "everywhere conspicuously displayed" in Richmond that week "no longer meant disunion. It stood, rather, for past trials and heroism in adversity looked back upon from the stand point [sic] of changed views and unforeseen prosperity." Or, more bluntly stated, in "this vast assembling

Figure 9 Jean Antonin Mercié's statue of Robert E. Lee on Monument Avenue, looking east. Boucher, HABS.

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[43]Richmond Daily Whig, August 3, 1886.

[44]Lee Monument file, clipping from the Dispatch, April 4, 1888, Valentine Museum.

there is no evidence whatever of any lingering intelligent repugnance to the Union or of a desire for the re-enslavement of the blacks."[45]

Twenty-five years after the war, it was time to forgive and forget, to embrace reunification and go on:

> General Lee personified what was best in a bad cause. His individual virtues gave the Southern people who craved a demonstration commemorative of an indelible epoch in their lives, something substantial and unquestionably creditable to rally around. The honor to the hero of their vain struggle has been paid, and the full conditions for another such gathering are wanting. It may therefore be surmised that in the great outpouring of the ex-Confederates at Richmond the final obsequies of the war of secession have taken place, and the circumstances attending it show how completely the wounds of the conflict have been healed, and a most important chapter of American history closed.[46]

Colonel Archer Anderson gave a much-admired dedicatory address at the unveiling that diplomatically skirted the moral and political import of a monument to the leader of a failed rebellion and the defense of slavery. Anderson eulogized, instead, Lee's character and virtues, his skill as a military strategist, his steadfastness and compassion in the face of impossible odds. He ended his speech with an exhortation drawn from deep within the neutral territory of the Lee cult of personality: "Let this monument, then, teach to generations yet unborn these lessons of his life! Let it stand, not a record of civil strife, but as a perpetual protest against whatever is low and sordid in our public and private objects!"[47]

Figure 10 The monument to J. E. B. Stuart was designed by sculptor Frederick Moynihan in 1904. Boucher, HABS.

Over the years more monuments followed: to General J. E. B. Stuart and to President Jefferson Davis in 1907, to General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in 1919, to Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury in 1929. Each monument campaign had its own history; although the same names often reappeared in the different fund-raising appeals through the years, the transformation of Monument Avenue into an avenue of monuments was piecemeal, not concerted, advanced by a logic of association and the aesthetic attractions of the avenue as a public space. Although the Lee monument set the precedent, as yet there was no program. Each

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[45] Harper's Weekly 34, no. 1747 (June 3, 1890): 470.

[46] Harper's Weekly 34, no. 1747 (June 14, 1890): 470.

[47] Colonel Archer Anderson, "Robert Edward Lee: An Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Lee Monument, By Colonel Archer Anderson," Southern Historical Society Papers 17 (1889): 312-35.

Figure 11 Sculptor Edward V. Valentine and architect William C. Noland collaborated on the elaborate monument to Jefferson Davis. Boucher, HABS.

1880s and '90s, not the 1860s. As a reflection of the concerns of its own day, Monument Avenue is also "about" the enhancement of urban environments through landscaping, the social and political uses of a shared aesthetic and the rise of city planning, an increasing municipal preoccupation with roads and traffic patterns, the mixed vocabulary of Colonial Revival as an architectural style, the interdependent dynamics of public and private space, and the function, mechanics, and expression of exclusivity in free-market development. That the avenue survives virtually intact points up its unique translation of the politics and accepted values--moral, economic, and aesthetic--of one era into built fabric and social arrangements that still serve in our own.

new memorial was presented as an homage to what was noble in the man as an individual, a public paean to private virtue and an edifying example for future generations; the rhetoric of these campaigns was Confederate, but the monuments themselves were to Great Men. Nonetheless, what evolved in the public space of Monument Avenue was a commemorative precinct dedicated to the fallen heroes of one cause, a cause Harper's Weekly had been too quick to consign to history: the Stuart and Davis monuments were dedicated in 1907 amid a Confederate reunion even larger than the one seventeen years before.

But monuments are not what makes Monument Avenue a unique space; they are but one aspect of a confluence of economic, aesthetic and functional concerns from many quarters, both public and private, into a single urban vision. Certainly the monuments on the avenue are "about" Southern separatism and the issues that drove it, but the residential boulevard as an American urban phenomenon is primarily an artifact of the

Figure 12 Unveiled in 1919, the monument to Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson was designed by F. William Sievers. Boucher, HABS.

Figure 13 Also designed by F. William Sievers, the monument to Matthew Fontaine Maury was unveiled in 1929. Boucher, HABS.

Yet the cult of the Lost Cause cannot be separated out of the totality of the vision, any more than one can ignore the streetscape in a meaningful discussion of architectural forms and styles along the avenue. All serve to make the whole.

It is remarkable, then, that although the monuments on the avenue have been the subject of a fair amount of scholarly attention and analysis, the history of the avenue's development as a singular architectural precinct, neighborhood, and civic space has not been written.[48] In the context of Richmond, Virginia, in the 1880s, decades before city planning became a function of city government,[49] the initial vision of a private development defined by two broad public boulevards crossing at a monumental circle was a singular departure from everything that had gone before. Monument Avenue's formal cohesion is all

Figure 14 Tens of thousands gathered for the unveiling of the statue of General J. E. B. Stuart on Monument Avenue at Lombardy Street on May 30, 1907. The complete row of houses in the background fronts on Grace Street. Valentine Musem.

[48] Williams concentrates on the Lee Monument campaign and competitions in an historical, political and economic context. McGehee offers a brief overview of the monument histories in relation to development on the avenue, and attempts an aesthetic assessment of their contribution to the avenue's civic space. Savage analyzes the formal symbolism of the monuments and the rhetoric attending their campaigns in order to distill the social and and ideological function of Confederate [and Union] commemoration.

[49] Richmond's first planning commission was created by authority of the new city charter of 1918.

Figure 15 By the time of the 1896 Confederate reunion, the Allen Addition has graded avenues, fenced medians, and white survey stakes marking boundary distinctions. Virginia State Library and Archives.

the more surprising for having been realized piecemeal, with no stylistic prescription and controls so minimal they hardly account for the finished whole. Once market forces brought a distinctive and workable vision of the avenue into focus, homeowners and builders embraced it with tremendous energy. Ninety percent of the fabric between Stuart Circle and the Boulevard was the result of a seemingly spontaneous outbreak of Colonial Revival and Mediterranean/ Neoclassical facadism that waxed and waned between 1905 and the late 1920s (with errant tangents into Tudor Revival et al.). But eleven years passed after Lee's unveiling before the first house was built on the avenue. In that time, the monument held court in an open, rolling field, its only tie to the city a dirt road that continued Franklin Street past Richmond College and crossed the city line at Lombardy Street.

SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT WEST OF THE CITY

Henrico County land west of the corporate limits of Richmond was not the blank canvas implied by criticisms of the monument site as "a barren and featureless plain." Important roads, scattered settlements, a tradition of outlying "country seats" and farmsteads, and residential property development schemes both large and small pre-existed the extension of urban street patterns and residential habits. These landscape elements and land-use traditions not only influenced the rate of urban expansion but constituted a conceptual armature, a way of thinking about and imagining the West End, which shaped the progress and eventual expression of that expansion. Much of the physical history of West End development is still evident in the layout and fabric of the modern city.

In the late eighteenth century the primary link to lands and settlements west of Richmond was the Westham Road, a pioneer trail later known as Scuffletown Road and today preserved, in part, in the path of Park Avenue through the Fan District. As the principal landscape feature west of the city, the Westham Road also served as a natural property line in the division of West End property, dating back to the lottery sale of 1769 for which William Byrd III's western lands were first subdivided into 100-acre lots.

With the discovery and development of the Deep Run (or DuVal) coal fields in western Henrico County at the end of the 1700s, a road was needed for the transport of coal into the city. The "Old Coal Pit Road," as it is labelled on old plats, was constructed and opened in 1789, joining the Westham Road near the present intersection of Park and Davis avenues.[50] A small settlement called "Scuffletown" soon sprang up where the two roads met; by 1795 it consisted of a tavern, a racecourse and perhaps a dozen structures strung out along roadfront lots on the north side of Westham Road. The derivation of the name, which Drew Carneal first found mentioned in a 1791 deed between a father and his son, is not certain. Most sources cite a Revolutionary War skirmish in the vicinity as the inspiration, but another interpretation attributes the name to the difficulties early travelers faced traversing the old mud roads.[51] Indeed, according to M.

Figure 16 This view of the Scuffletown tavern and its outbuildings on the old Westham Road predates the relocation of the road to the north side of the tavern in 1878, where it became Park Avenue. Virginia State Library and Archives.

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[50]Henrico County Order Book 3: 504, December 2, 1788; Book 3: 571, March 26, 1789. Carneal, Chapter 2, p. 12.

[51]This 1781 encounter between Benedict Arnold's troops and a ragged Virginia militia was locally celebrated as "the driving in of Arnold's pickets," although Governor Thomas Jefferson, routed by the precision and superior strength of Arnold's action into beating a hasty retreat from the city, complained with some bitterness afterward that Virginians fired not a single shot in Richmond's defense. Today, a modest stone and plaque in a front yard on Grove Avenue marks the vicinity, at least, of this encounter, whatever its nature. Christian, 20-21; Carneal, Ch. 1, p. 12.

Ethel Kelley Kern, the sign on the old Scuffletown Tavern bore the legend "Help a Poor Man Scuffle Through" beneath the figure of a man's head, arms and running legs protruding from a globe of the world.[52]

In 1804, the General Assembly authorized the Richmond Turnpike Company to open, operate, and maintain a turnpike road extending westward from Broad Street to the coal fields and points beyond.[53] The new road, 40' wide and paved with gravel and stone, enabled most traffic, including the coal wagons, to go straight into downtown, bypassing Scuffletown entirely. With the opening of the Westham Plank Road from the end of Main Street west to the Goochland Court House, the old Westham Road fell into disuse. It was soon abandoned west of Scuffletown, and after its eastern end was closed in 1851 through the newly set aside Western Square (Monroe Park), the old thoroughfare was reduced to barely more than a service road for West End property owners. Robert Beverley Munford described the remnant of it in the 1880s as "making its way like a torturous stream across the great expanse of red clay prairie" that was to become Lee District.[54]

Both the Westham Road and the Old Coal Pit Road continued to be important property-defining boundaries long after their utility as roads was pre-empted. Philip Haxall, owner along with his brother William of the Haxall flour mill, bought just under sixteen acres between the Richmond Turnpike and the Scuffletown Road in 1810 and immediately subdivided them into sixteen residential lots, divided by a new road for the use of lot owners that would later become Lombardy Street. This was Haxall's Addition.[55] On Lot 2 Haxall built his own "country seat," Columbia, a three-story, thirteen-room brick mansion eventually surrounded by a greenhouse, an icehouse, three three-story service buildings and a large vegetable and flower garden with orchard.[56]

Many of Richmond's more prosperous gentlemen built rural residences in the west lands during this period, characterized by one historian as a time of "feverish land speculation."[57] John Bell built Bellville on a tract just east of Haxall's Addition sometime between 1810 and 1812, probably as the western terminus of Grace Street; until it burned in 1841 this was one of Richmond's most admired homes.[58] John Mayo, Jr., whose fortune derived in large part from the fact that he built and owned the Mayo Bridge to Manchester, inherited a tract of six of William Byrd's 100-acre western lots north of Scuffletown from his father in 1781. There he built

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[52]According to Carneal, the tavern was probably constructed in 1791 or 1792; its tavern license was issued in November 1792, and refers to the proprietor's house "situate at Scuffle Town." Carneal, Ch. 2, p. 14.

[53]Christian, 59-60.

[54]Cited in Carneal, ch. 4, p.6.

[55]Henrico County, Plat Book 4: 15.

[56]History of Richmond College, 23. The house stands today, altered and added to but fundamentally intact, at the northeast corner of West Grace and Lombardy streets.

[57]Carneal, ch. 3, p. 11.

[58]Mary Wingfield Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods (Richmond: privately printed, 1950; repr., Valentine Museum, 1975, 1984), 157. The house stood approximately at Ryland Street.

his own country estate, the Hermitage, around 1789. According to a watercolor sketch by Benjamin Latrobe in 1797, it was a rambling assemblage of outbuildings around a two-story wood-frame main house of no particular distinction.[59] In 1816, the same year he bought and moved to the more elegant Bellville and only two years before his death, Mayo laid off twenty-three lots south of the Richmond Turnpike to Scuffletown, between Coal Pit Road and the road to the Hermitage, near present Allen Avenue. These residential lots of four acres each, like Haxall's, sold readily.[60]

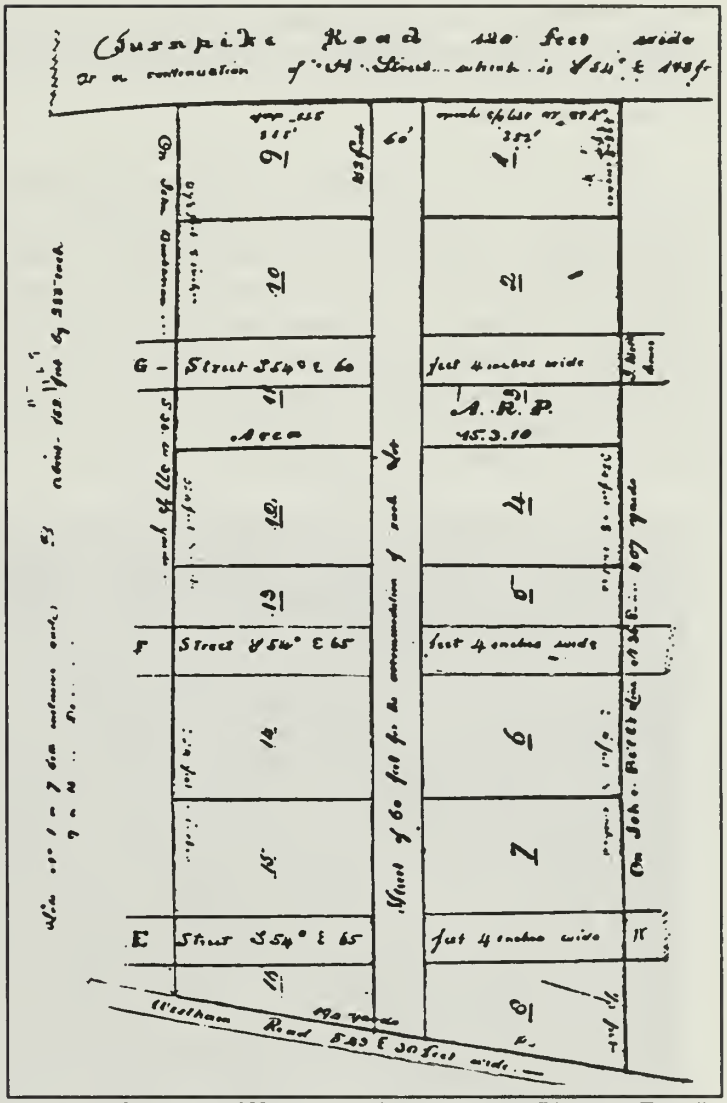

Figure 17 1810 survey of Haxall's Addition, between the Richmond Turnpike Road and Westham Road, with E (Park), F (Franklin), and G (Grace) streets, bisected by the future Lombardy Street. Henrico County Plat Book 4: 15.

Mayo's subdivision plat included a straight stretch of road 40' wide "in line with Franklin"--the first indication of a projection of that street west, although the surveyor of Haxall's 1810 plan had assumed and sketched in projections of Grace and Franklin streets west of that addition. Mayo's disconnected stretch of Franklin Street, however, actually existed, connecting the Coal Pit Road to the Westham Road via a dogleg (at present Allison Street) and bypassing Scuffletown.

In 1838, when Thomas Talley built the homestead he called "Talavera" on land bought from Mayo just north of this new road, Richard Reins was still operating the Scuffletown Tavern as an inn.[61] In 1845, two months after buying a parcel of land from James Bosher, Reins sold four and one-quarter acres "fronting 1,406-½ feet

[59]Mayo's Hermitage stood on the site of Richmond's Broad Street Station, now the Science Museum of Virginia.

[60]Carneal, Chapter 3; Henrico County Plat Book 4:52.

[61]Carneal (Ch. 5, p. 2) quotes an 1838 inventory of Reins' property and its furnishings that included seven feather beds, five looking glasses, a male and female slave and five slave children. Reins apparently ran the land as a farm and the tavern as an inn. Mary Wingfield Scott, Houses of Old Richmond (New York: Bonanza Books, 1941), 190-92. Talavera still stands at 2315 W. Grace St.

on the continuation of Franklin Street and running back 150' to a 16' alley" to brothers John and Marmaduke Johnston. This is the earliest mention not only of this stretch of road as a property distinction but also of the division of this property into dimensions similar to intown lots, including a service alley behind.[62]

The most sweeping and enduring interpretation of the West End as real estate was the plan of the town of Sydney devised in the boom year of 1817 by the partnership of Jaquelin B. Harvie, George Winston and Benjamin J. Harris. When Harvie inherited 540 acres west of Belvidere Street and north of the Westham Plank Road (present Cary Street), he enlisted Harris, a tobacco manufacturer and cotton mill owner, and Winston, a highly successful builder, in the development of what promised to be a real estate bonanza. Their subdivision consisted of 536 lots of just less than an acre each divided into square blocks of four lots each by a grid of 66'-wide east-west streets and 52'-wide north-south streets. Alleys through the blocks were 20' wide. The proposed development encompassed the entire area of the modern Fan District, from Belvidere

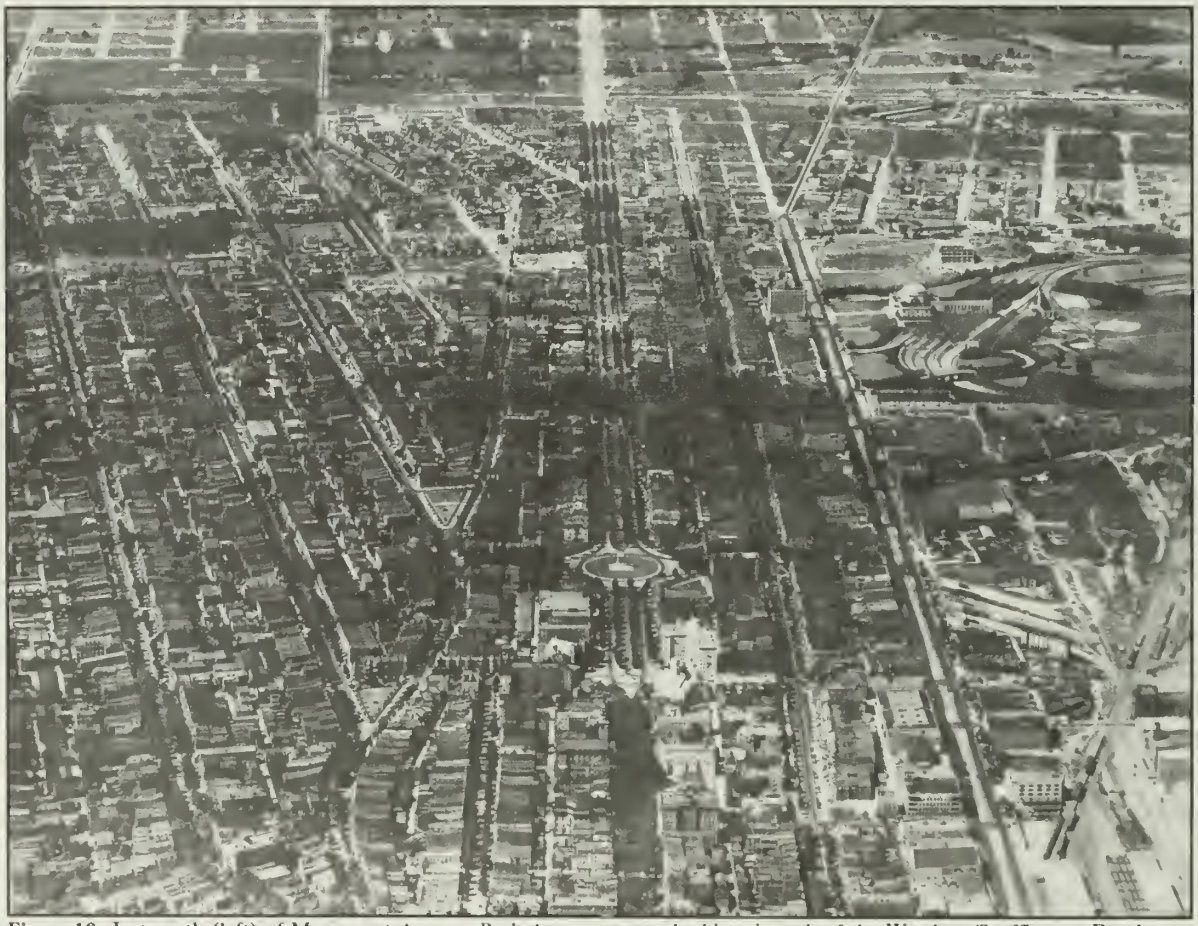

Figure 18 Just south (left) of Monument Avenue, Park Avenue traces the historic path of the Westham/Scuffletown Road, separating the old Sydney grid (now the Fan District) from the avenue precinct. Virginia State Library and Archives.

[62]The new configuration suggests that Reins anticipated residential development of the land, as the alley and the lot dimensions mimicked the pattern established on Franklin and Grace Streets closer to town. This was part of a parcel Reins acquired from James Bosher two months earlier, although neither an alley nor 150'-deep lots were mentioned in that transaction. Bosher bought the land from Charles Wortham in 1842, and Wortham from Abigail Mayo in March 1839. Henrico County Deed Book 65: 173, May 3, 1854.

Street to Belmont Avenue (West Street) and from Cary Street (Westham Plank Road) to Park Avenue (Scuffletown Road), including the area west of the Old Coal Pit Road all the way up to Broad Street (the Richmond Turnpike).[63]

Harvie sold half of his inheritance to Harris and Winston for the set price of $450 per acre. In the shortlived "flush times" that followed, the same lots sold for as much as $1,000. The Panic of 1819, however, brought ruin to both Winston and Harris. One-acre lots brought as little as $16 at foreclosure auctions, when they sold at all, and Harris was forced by dire circumstances to trade his remaining lots back to Harvie for $50 apiece before he went under completely. The town of Sydney turned out to be something less than the windfall the partners had anticipated. Mary Wingfield Scott characterized development in the area as largely working class with some merchant class, and only an occasional house of any real substance. Drew Carneal found only one house "of any real consequence" built in all of Sydney over the twenty years following the 1819 crash, despite the fact that many individual lots had been sold, and for rock bottom prices.[64] Even though the development scheme failed, the platted streets had already been dedicated; over the next 100 years, the Fan District emerged as the 1817 plat had dictated.

As for the specific extension of Franklin Street westward, even though Haxall's Addition proposed E, F and G streets (Park, Franklin and Grace) beyond Lombardy in 1810, Franklin was not opened even as far west as Laurel Street until 1851, when the city closed the Westham Road through the Western Square and began developing it as an agricultural exhibition ground. This function discouraged residential growth in the area until around 1858; 60'-wide Franklin Street was opened to Richmond College and Lombardy Street in 1854 only through the private action of the landowners involved: John Shafer, Samuel Rutherfoord, Edward Mayo and Robert Ryland, president of the college. This dirt roadbed was not graded and gravelled until 1868; residences followed only after water and sewer lines were laid in the early 1880s.[65]

During the long campaign of the 1864-65 siege and eventual capture of the Confederate capital, Union engineers under the command of Brevet Major Peter S. Michie surveyed Richmond and outlying areas in minute detail. Their immediate concern was the arrangement of Confederate defenses and battlements circling the city, but the thoroughness of their survey, recorded in a map completed in 1867, affords a nearly photographic record of Richmond and its environs at the end of the war, even to the direction of furrows in plowed fields, the distribution of trees, the location of individual houses and, often, the names of the owners.[66]

The map shows Franklin Street ending at Lombardy, near the Richmond College campus. The northernmost square dot above the name of Reverend Ryland represents "Columbia," which

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[63]Carneal, ch. 4, pp. 3-6; Henrico County Plat Book 12: 34-35.

[64]The house was "Warsaw," on Harvie Street, built in 1830 by grocer William Anderson. Carneal, Ch. 4, pp. 6-10; Ch. 5, 6-7; Scott, Neighborhoods, 215.

[65]Henrico County deed book 72:549, October 13, 1854. Drew Carneal, Ch. 6, pp. 10, 38.

[66]E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, A Description of the Country: Virginia's Cartographers and Their Maps, 1607-1881 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1975), 96-102. Based on a survey conducted 1864-65, Michie's map was not published until 1965, and then by the Richmond Civil War Centennial Commission. The above portfolio includes a facsimile of the map.

Figure 19 Detail of Peter S. Michie's 1866 Richmond map. The wide road in the center is Broad Street. The initial Monument Avenue development occurred in the area between Richmond College and Battery No. 10.

today faces Grace Street through this section.[67] The expanse of the property later developed as the Allen Addition around the Lee Monument is clearly shown to be farmland, with no buildings on it and only a smattering of trees at its eastern edge. Beyond the Allen lot, Mayo's continuation of Franklin Street swerves around the southern edge of Battery No. 10, known as the "star fort," which occupied the area now bounded by Broad Street, Monument Avenue, Davis Avenue, and Strawberry Street. Talavera, the house built by Thomas Talley in 1838, is shown within the walls of the battery. The group of buildings labelled "Raines" (Reins) is at Scuffletown, and includes the tavern that stood at the intersection of Addison and Park Avenue until 1912, when it was demolished to make way for new development. Beyond the battery, Coal Pit Road intersects with the Richmond Turnpike west of the modern intersection of Broad Street and Boulevard. South and west of Monroe Park and south of the Westham Road, the Sydney grid prevails, although only a few of its major streets were in place in 1865. The wide, straight street lined with country houses just south of the Westham Road is Grove Road (Avenue), which extends to the Robinson estate at the left edge of the map. This is the later site of the Confederate Soldiers' Home and the eventual site of the Virginia Fine Arts Museum and the United Daughters of the Confederacy on Boulevard; the Confederate Battle Abbey, now the Virginia Historical Society, was just north of these. The north-south road connecting the Westham

[67] Its original orientation was to Lombardy Street.

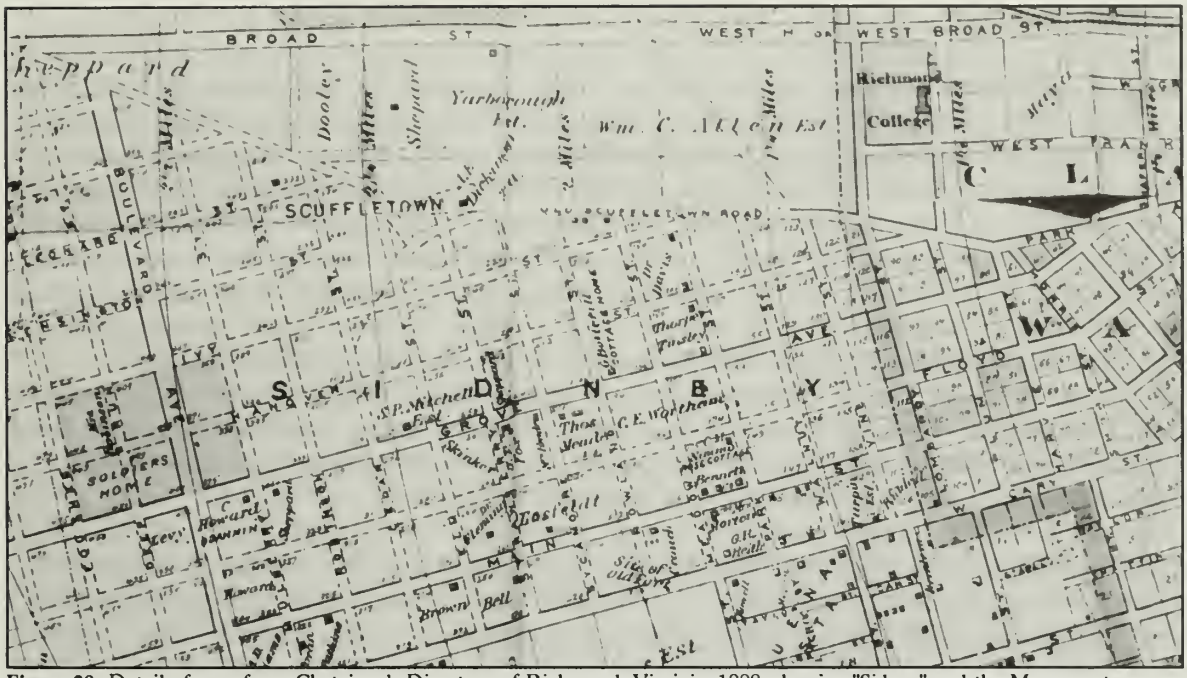

Figure 20 Detail of map from Chataigne's Directory of Richmond, Virginia, 1888, showing "Sidney" and the Monument Avenue area. Built roads are indicated by solid lines; dashes indicate platted or projected roads.

Road and the Westham Plank Road (second road south of Grove) is Meadow Street in the Sydney plans.

The Old Coal Pit Road was closed through the former Talley property in 1878 on the petition of Dr. John F. Sheppard, who along with "capitalist" Major James Dooley purchased the estate from Talley's heirs in 1871-72. "The Boulevard," a widened version of Sydney's Clover Street from the city reservoir and park to Broad Street, was opened through Sheppard land in 1883.[68]

THE AVENUE: LAND ACCUMULATION AND SUBDIVISION

The study area is best understood as three related but separate tracts, each with its own development history. Each tract was dominated by a single family in the period of land acquisition and consolidation immediately prior to the making of the avenue, and in the history of subdivision related to the avenue's progress.

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[68]March 4, 1873, Henrico Order Book 1871-1873, p. 163. Boulevard opened on application of R. T. Hubbard et al. to Henrico County Circuit Court, Order Book 3:377, June 8, 1883. Land dedicated May 10, 1883, Henrico County Deed Book 111:163, by Nicholas Sheppard.

The Allen Addition

Bounded on the north by the extension of Broad Street, on the south by Park Avenue and stretching from the 1867 city boundary at Lombardy Street three blocks west to Allison Street, the Allen Addition was controlled by the heirs of William C. Allen, one of Richmond's most successful building contractors in the decades before the Civil War. Allen came to Richmond from Prince William County as a young man with his mother sometime around 1810, apprenticed as a bricklayer, and entered that profession. His eventual reputation as a builder was firmly based on the quality of the homes and rental properties he built under contract with individual property owners; a handful of these survive. His name was first recorded in the Henrico County grantee index in 1820, then appeared with modest regularity over the next decade, usually as the purchaser of a city lot in a good, middle-class neighborhood, suitable for a solidly built house in the spare but fashionable Greek Revival style. Local architectural historian Mary Wingfield Scott documented several buildings by Allen that give some sense of the nature of his work and the increasing measure of his success from the 1820s through the 1850s.[69]

His land purchases increased in scale and frequency and changed direction in 1830, after he won the contract for the brickwork on the new city reservoir. As he prospered, and perhaps in anticipation of the direction of Richmond's future growth, Allen began to invest in farm land immediately west of the city limits. The pace and scale of his acquisitions were typical of speculative practices in the West End before the war, but the obvious plan behind the pattern of his purchases was remarkably single-minded. In an apparent effort to reassemble portions of the subdivided former Haxall, Mayo, and Buchanan tracts lying west of Lombardy Street and north of Westham Road, Allen amassed the fifty-eight acre tract that became known as "the Allen lot" by 1845, including the western half of Haxall's Addition across Lombardy Street from Richmond College (in five transactions between 1830 and 1845), sixteen acres west of Haxall's from James Brown in 1830, ten acres from John Mayo's widow, Abigail, in 1840, and one-half acre in Scuffletown.[70]

Allen continued to purchase several lots at a time in the same area of Sydney throughout the 1840s-50s, yet he neither resold nor developed these properties. By 1855 his success as a builder allowed him to retire to his own large, new brick home at the southeast corner of Sixth and Franklin streets, designed in the severe version of the Greek Revival style that was the preferred architectural expression of Richmond's social elite. Perhaps even more than the size and location of his retirement home, Allen's conformity to the prevailing conservative stylistic tradition "bespoke substantial business success and social respectability."[71]

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[69]Scott discusses a number of Allen-built properties, including: 2309 East Franklin Street (1827), the Andrew Ellett House at 2702 East Grace Street (1829), a double house at 4-6 East Main Street (1836), his own residence at 17 North Sixth Street (1855), and row houses south and east from that corner address (1847-1860). Scott, Houses, 169, 184-5; Neighborhoods, 39, 164, 166, 168.

[70]Drew Carneal's exhaustive research on the development of the Fan District includes a grantor/grantee survey of Henrico County and Richmond city deed indexes tracing a great many of Allen's property transactions in the West End.

[71]Brent Tarter, "Otway S. Allen: His Gift of Land Changed Richmond Forever," The Richmond Quarterly 12, no. 4 (Spring 1990); 13, no. 1 (Summer 1990); 13, no. 2 (Fall 1990). Tarter adds "That William C. Allen served on the city council from Madison Ward was a measure of his emergence from the working class into the professional class."

When Allen died in 1874 at age 81, he left the West End property, undivided and undeveloped, to his wife, Allaville, and four children: Mary Columbia Allen Sheppard, Bettie F. Allen Gregory, Martha Allen (Wilson; later, Wise), and Otway Slaughter Allen. According to his obituary in the Richmond Enquirer, William C. Allen "belonged strictly to that class of men who are the architects of a city and his loss will be deeply felt . . . none of his wealth was the result of speculation and the growth of his fortune marked in many ways the improvement of the city."[72] These comments underscore Allen's conservatism, his attention to civic matters, and suggest a rather old-fashioned attitude toward what it meant to own land; i.e., to provide for the security of one's family as well as for the good of the community.

After his death, Allen's heirs did not rush to capitalize on the legacy he had so painstakingly accumulated. Thanks in part to the lingering effects of the 1865 evacuation fire, which decimated the city's industrial-financial-commercial district, the 1870s were lean years in Reconstruction Richmond. Barely rebuilt industries were hard hit by the economic panic of 1873, which set recovery back enough to knock the bottom out of real estate prices. Perhaps as a protective strategy against this soft market, the first partitioning of William C. Allen's estate in December 1874 only set aside certain income-producing properties for Allaville Allen, and did not deal with large tracts or the question of development. Division of the estate was more particularly defined in a series of deeds beginning in the boom year of 1887, two years after Allaville's death, and completed in 1889. This timing, one year after the deal with the Lee Monument Association, makes it clear that the Allen heirs had committed their development prospects to the scheme for Monument Avenue. A survey and subdivision plat of the "Allen Addition," completed in December 1888 (encompassing Allen and Monument avenues from Park Avenue to Broad Street and Lombardy Street to Allison Avenue), made final settlement of the estate possible.

The final plan was probably authored in 1887 by the Allen heirs in collaboration with C. P. E. Burgwyn, city engineer and consulting engineer to the Lee Monument Association, although the proposed character of the scheme was publicly discussed a year earlier. In the same 1886 Dispatch article in which Otway Allen first suggested a boulevard setting for the Lee Monument on the Allen lot, however, Burgwyn argued for an appropriately isolated and elevated site on a promontory in Chimborazo Park, the former battlefield east of the city.[73] Burgwyn's affiliation with the Lee Monument Association probably accounts for his authorship of the first public diagram of the scheme, which accompanied the deed between the Allen heirs and the monument association in 1887 (fig. 8). No other developmental evidence of the plan or its authorship survives. Otway Allen cited the particular inspiration of Mount Vernon Place in Baltimore, but whether the idea was his own or he was simply speaking as the male representative of his family is not clear.[74] If the ambitiously Neoclassical development in Baltimore was to be the model, however, Burgwyn was the ideal local candidate for the role of designer. In addition to a close

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[72]Enquirer, September 8, 1874. Allen's obituary in the Enquirer concluded with the statement that "during his long life there was much his right hand did that his left knew not." According to the Dispatch, he represented Madison Ward on the city council for several years; the Daily Whig of the same date notes that he was also a director of the Farmers' Bank of Virginia "in the olden time" (i.e., before the war).

[73]Richmond Dispatch, March 28, 1886.

[74]In the Dispatch interview, he referred to it as "Monument place."

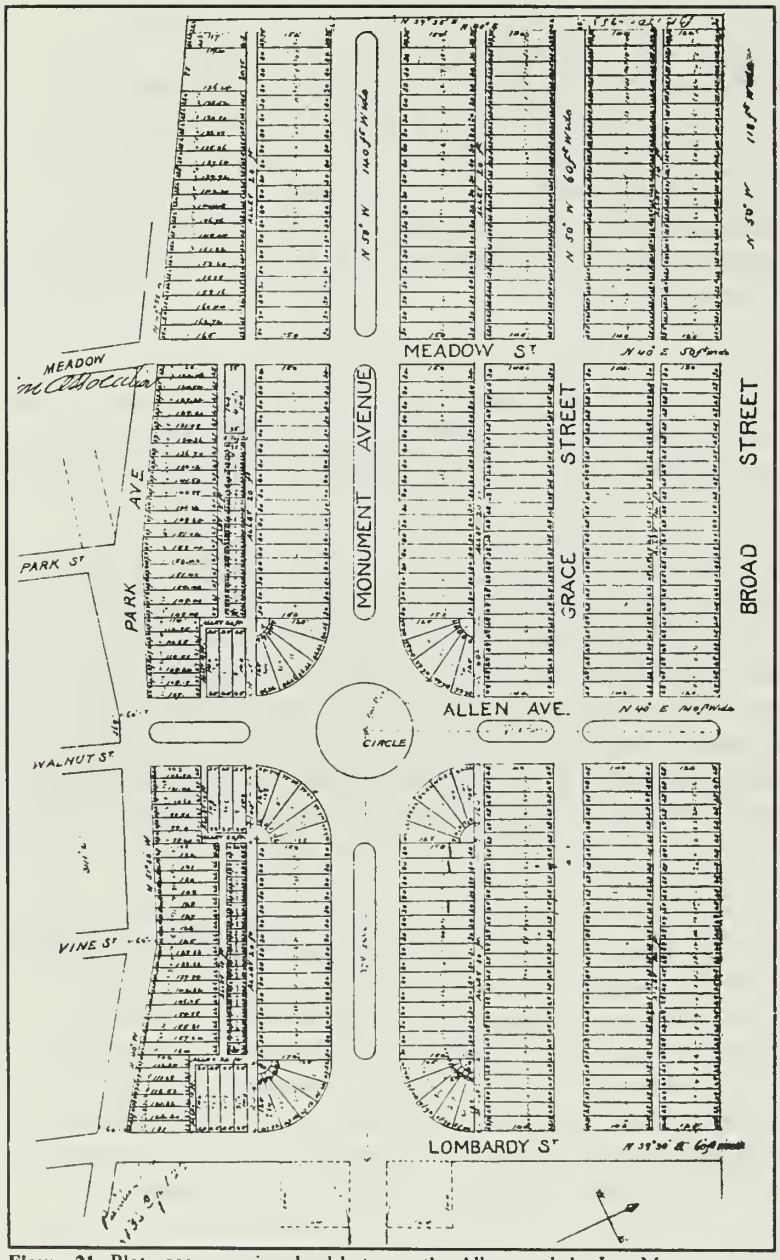

Figure 21 Plat accompanying deed between the Allens and the Lee Monument Association, 1888. Richmond Deed Book 2: 33.

relationship with the monument association and a supervisory role in the progress of the design, he had earned degrees in architecture and engineering from Harvard University and was undoubtedly familiar not only with academic precedents but with the renowned example of Boston's Commonwealth Avenue, as well.[75]

The official plat by the firm Bates & Bolton, dated December 1888 and filed with both the city and county, documented only bare-bones information pertinent to the division and improvement of property, but another version of the final plat, probably used for land-sale promotion, was significantly more revealing of the character of the plan that became the template for later extensions of the avenue. The "Map of the Wm. C. Allen Addition," also by Bates & Bolton and of the same date as the recorded plat, shows an over-scaled reproduction of the proposed monument (two years before the unveiling) superimposed upon the circle at the intersection of two boulevards. The surrounding quadrant lots emphasize the graphic sense of a public square, although the deed with the monument association was explicit as to the private ownership of all land except Lee Circle, the boulevards, and the alleys.

[75]The similarity of deed restrictions on Commonwealth Avenue and Monument Avenue properties is discussed below; see pp. 48-9. Collinson Pierrepoint Edwards Burgwyn earned his degrees in 1873 and 1875. The construction of Commonwealth Avenue began with the filling in of the Back Bay through the 1850s. Home-building commenced in earnest in the 1860s, and by the end of that decade the emerging urban and architectural character of the Back Bay avenues attracted wide attention. The best book on the subject is still Bainbridge Bunting's Houses of Boston's Back Bay: An Architectural History, 1840-1917 (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967).

Sketched in along the boulevard medians are double rows of trees, with what appear to be shrubs down the median centers.[76] Eventual corresponding rows of trees along the sidewalks were not indicated. At the top of the map, Franklin Street was shown continuing west, 100' wide, beyond a 60'-wide "proposed street" (Allison); Meadow Street was named and shown 50' wide. The end of old Franklin Street at the bottom of the map was 66' wide, with clearly marked sidewalks curving around the Richmond College quadrant lots at Lombardy Street. The extra depth of the two blocks on the south side, between Lombardy and Meadow, a result of the irregular path of Park Avenue (as a vestige of the Westham Road), allowed for double alleys, creating a long interior court given over to stables, initially, but garages by the time building commenced in

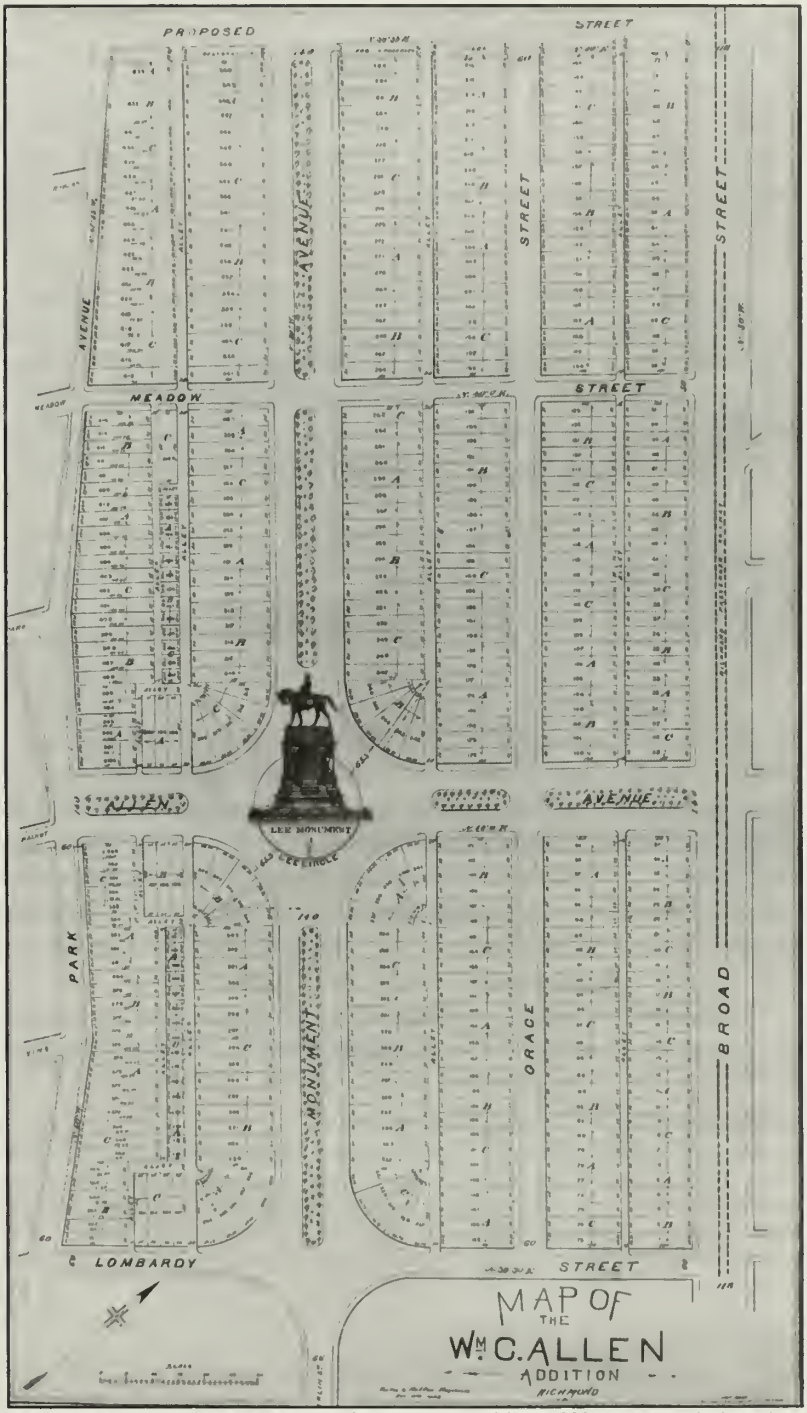

Figure 22 Somewhat idealized plat of the Allen Addition, 1888, two years before the Lee Monument was unveiled, indicating future landscaping. Valentine Museum.

[76] In granting the boulevards to "the public," the deed between the Allens and the Lee Monument Association specified that nothing could be placed down the centers of medians that might possibly obscure or detract from the view of the monument.

earnest.[77] The delineator of the promotional map went beyond the obvious attractions of the plan itself to depict projected improvements (the monument, at colossal scale; sidewalks, which imply the curbing and paving of streets; and landscaping) and existing amenities and services (the double track of the Richmond Passenger Railway down Broad Street). Such close attention to detail conveyed the developer's commitment to seeing the plan through, emphasizing the scheme as a fully realized, orderly and extraordinary urban residential setting rather than a mere speculative venture.

Also indicated on the plat is the checkerboard fashion in which the Allen heirs divided up their father's holdings, so that each controlled not only an equal share but a fair distribution, and held therefore a vested interest in the success of the avenue as a whole.[78] Each heir claimed two of the six highly desirable quadrant lots and divided the remaining Monument Avenue frontage into 30' lots in five-lot blocks; Broad Street commercial frontage was divided into three-, five-, and seven-lot blocks; residential Grace Street and Park Avenue were similarly parcelled off.

Burgwyn proposed a boulevard with central grass plots 44' wide, two 36' roadways and 12' paved sidewalks on either side.[79] Lots fronting on the avenue--134 out of a total of 434--were 30' wide and 150' deep, the "usual size" of lots on Franklin and Grace streets and throughout the neighboring Fan District.[80] Twenty-foot service alleys divided the blocks lengthwise.[81]

In keeping with the centrality of the Lee monument to the entire development both physically and conceptually, the four corners at Lee Circle were plotted as fan-shaped quadrants divided into five lots each. The apparent design intention was to have buildings constructed on these lots participate visually in the public space surrounding the monument--to naturalize and reinforce, by their orientation, the universality of sentiment and patriotic feeling for Lee and the Lost Cause. If each lot represented an individual residence, turning the corner in this way would achieve a more or less continuous wall of facades from Monument Avenue onto Allen Avenue--a

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[77]The Model T was introduced to Richmond in 1907; in 1913, there were still fewer than 200 privately owned automobiles in the city, although the fire department began to "mobilize" in 1911. Dabney, 286; Earle Lutz, A Richmond Album: A pictorial chronicle of an historic city's outstanding events and places (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1937), 188.

[78]Mary Columbia Sheppard and her husband, William Y. Sheppard, were heavily in debt when her father died in 1874, both to her father's estate and in the form of mortgages upon her future inheritance. An early deed of partition mentions a Charles Watkins as having taken over the Sheppards' debts, including their interest in the estate. Mary Columbia's siblings apparently settled with Watkins by 1887, as the later deed of partition parcels out land between the three heirs who went on to develop the Allen Addition and describes their collective role as trustee for Mary Columbia and her children. Otway, who died without heirs in 1911, left one third of his estate to his widow and the remaining two-thirds to Mary Columbia Sheppard's two children.

[79]David F. LaPrade, typed manuscript (Department of Public Works, City of Richmond), [1947?], 105. These road dimensions remain true up to Roseneath, the western boundary of our project area.

[80]Lots are numbered up to 433, but 35'-wide lot 414-1/2 faces Meadow Street between Park and Monument. There were another twenty-nine carriage house lots between the alleys south of Monument: sixteen in the 1600 block, thirteen in the 1800 block. These were marketed as individual lots, 35' by 27'. Corner house lots on the east side of Meadow Street at the Avenue were 34' wide; frontage of quadrant lots at Stuart and Lee circles varied between 46' and 51', with a depth of 125'. An advertisement in the Richmond Dispatch June 3, 1890, described 30' x 150' lots on the Boulevard, West Broad, Grace, and Franklin streets as "choice, usual size and most valuable West-End building lots." Thomas Branch & Company papers, John P. Branch property files, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Throughout the rest of the Fan District, 25' to 30' was the standard range of lot widths.

[81]The double alleys between Park Avenue and Monument were 15' and 20' wide; alleys between Grace and Broad streets were 14' wide.

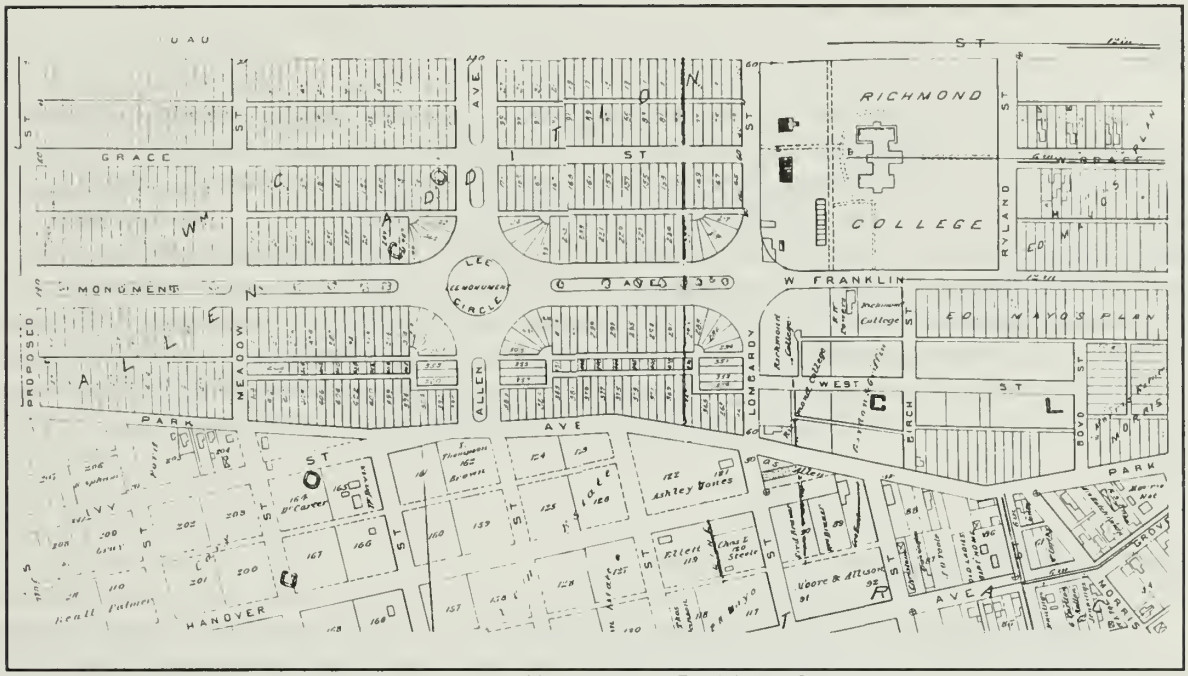

Figure 23 Richmond College rounded off the corners of its property at Franklin and Lombardy streets to complement the Monument Avenue plat. 1889 Baist atlas.

more graceful urban effect than that at Mount Vernon Place in Baltimore, where the base of Robert Mills's Washington Monument is a cube whose corners correspond with those of the monumental buildings that press close upon it while their facades address the radiating garden parks. The beginning of Monument Avenue at Lombardy received the same curved treatment, as a formal transition into the plan from narrower Franklin Street. Richmond College, which owned the land east of Lombardy on both sides of Franklin, agreed in 1888 to round off the corners of its property at that intersection, making a formal "square"[82] on a smaller scale than Lee Circle but equally amenable to the eventual placement of a monument.

In 1892 Richmond civic leaders pushed a bill through the General Assembly to annex that portion of Lee District west of the city line at Lombardy Street to Boulevard between Grove Avenue and Broad Street. The city entered into a contract for grading Monument and Allen avenues in July 1893, but the financial panic of that year dimmed prospects for more appropriations to extend city services and make home building possible. The effects of the panic lingered. According to property tax records, not one new house was built in all of Lee Ward in 1897, the same year fifty-two businesses in the city failed. In June 1898, the Richmond Dispatch reported that the Lee Monument site had fallen into a sorry state of neglect, touching off a minor furor over whether the city or the state was legally responsible for its upkeep. Veterans from the

[82]The quadrant lot and public-space configuration at the intersections of Monument Avenue with Lombardy Street and with Allen Avenue make one square in plan but another, very different "square" in perception.

Confederate Soldiers' Home finally stepped in to keep the grass trimmed and the weeds at bay.[83]

In 1901, eleven years after Lee's unveiling, the avenue from Lombardy to Meadow Street was finally curbed and guttered with granolith, a paving material of cement and crushed granite; utilities were installed along the alleys at the same time, and the first house was built that year. In 1904, the city engineer reported that four rows of scarlet and sugar maple trees had been planted the length of the avenue from Lombardy to Allison.[84] The intersection of Lombardy Street and Monument Avenue was designated the site of a proposed monument to General J. E. B. Stuart in September 1904. The monument was unveiled May 30, 1907, three days before the unveiling of the Jefferson Davis Monument at the intersection of Monument and Davis avenues. The unveilings were the showcase events of the 1907 Confederate reunion. Paving of the avenue with asphalt block from Lombardy to Allison was contracted the same year; work began in 1908.[85]

Allison Street to the Boulevard: John P. Branch et al.

Land fronting on the five blocks between Allison and the Boulevard, immediately beyond the Allen Addition, belonged to several individuals and two partnerships in the late 1880s. Consequently, instead of being determined by one plan the development of this tract was subject to several different interpretations of what it meant to "develop" residential property in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Richmond. Unlike the Allen lot, across whose plowed fields the avenue was laid out from scratch, this section of the avenue-to-be was shaped by a pre-existing armature of streets and alleys (fig. 20). What became the avenue through most of this tract had existed as a 40'-wide road "in line with Franklin" since John Mayo's subdivision of the Hermitage tract in 1816, with a 16'-wide alley 150' south of that extension at least since 1854.[86] This section continued to be called West Franklin Street even after the interceding blocks of Monument Avenue became a reality, until the city council in 1906 extended the latter name along with the city boundary west to Roseneath Road.

Although landowners who subdivided conformed to the prevailing 30' x 150' standard for residential lots, the decision to subdivide was not a general one. The north side of the 2200 block, for instance, was subdivided in June 1890, by the representatives of a consortium of twenty-

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[83]LaPrade, 105; Drew Carneal, "The Residential Development of Monument Avenue," Monument Avenue Alive! newsletter (Winter/Spring 1991).

[84]McGehee, 41.

[85]Richmond won a bidding match with the state for the site of the Stuart Monument when the Board of Aldermen agreed to appropriate $20,000 for the statue if it was not erected on Capitol Square, the state's preferred site. J. E. B. Stuart and Jefferson Davis monument vertical files, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia; LaPrade manuscript, 105; McGehee, 40.

[86]Henrico County Plat Book 4: 52, 20 May 1816. Mayo's 1816 subdivision of some of his land south of the Richmond turnpike and east of the "Coal Pit Road" included a street "in line with west Franklin" running between the Coal Pit Road and the road to his home at the Hermitage. Mayo's road, clearly indicated on Peter Michie's 1867 map, intersected the Old Coal Pit Road near the present intersection of Monument and Davis avenues. After Allen consolidated his tract, the road connected with the Old Scuffletown Road (originally Westham Road, now Park Avenue) via a dogleg at the western end of the Allen lot, thereby diverting traffic around Reins' tavern and the Scuffletown environs.

eight investors from Richmond and Baltimore who had purchased the land barely a year before. The plat shows Grace Street and 20'-wide alleys through this parcel continuing on through the adjoining property of "Allison & Addison." Streets on either side of the subdivision are labeled Addison Street and Allison Street on the plat; the latter is shown 29' wide with a 1' strip adjoining the Allen lot "reserved . . . until said Allen's heirs shall have dedicated for street purposes enough land to make the street between their sub-division and this 57' wide."[87] A reservation for just this purpose was included in the 1888 Allen Addition plat.

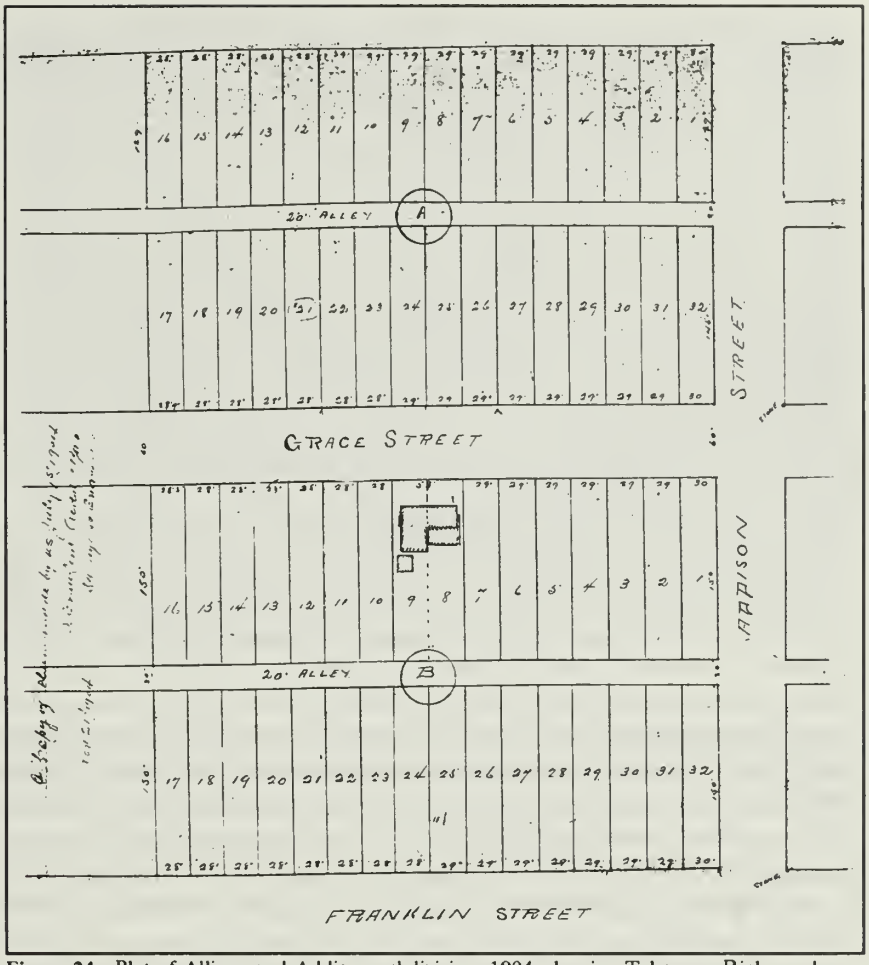

Figure 24 Plat of Allison and Addison subdivision, 1904, showing Talavera. Richmond Deed Book 2: 183.

The north side of the next block west was not subdivided into 30' x 150' lots until 1904, fourteen years later. In May 1886, James W. Allison and Edmund B. Addison, partners in a thriving fertilizer company at Rocketts Landing on the James River, bought an eight-acre parcel immediately west of what is now Strawberry Street, fronting some 460' on the south side of Broad Street across from the State Agricultural Exhibition Grounds and including a like amount of frontage on West Franklin Street.[88] This tract also included Talavera. In 1895 the partners deeded a 60' strip through the property to the city for the extension of Grace Street, on the condition that the city grade and open Grace Street from Lombardy to Boulevard according to a schedule of street grades adopted by the City Council.[89] Eight years later Addison and Allison's heirs conveyed alleys 20' wide through the property's two blocks to the City of Richmond, in exchange for a release from sewer tax assessments on the land "so long as the

[87]Henrico County Deed Book 127A:418; 131A:248.

[88]Note the date, two months after the Dispatch article discussing the merits of proposed sites for the Lee Monument introduced the possibility of a west side location.

[89]Richmond Deed Book 156B:309.

land remains unimproved by buildings," as it was at the time.[90] The subdivision plan recorded in July 1904, the year after the final Davis Monument site was announced, shows Grace Street through, with parallel alleys in place. Thirty-two lots per block were 28' to 30' wide, and 150' deep between Franklin Street (shown 80' wide) and Grace Street. The outline of Talavera, showing the location of a chimney, a back porch, and an outbuilding, is clearly indicated on lot Nos. 8 and 9, Block B; the house's current address is 2315 W. Grace St.[91]

The 1890 plat of the 2200 block indicates the continuation of Grace Street through the Allison and Addison property, implying that these extensions were understood, perhaps even in place, before they were conveyed to the city, but not improved. Apparently Allison and Addison were not interested in immediate development, as they held back on expensive improvements such as curbing and paving until after the land was annexed in order to get the city to provide them--a sensible development strategy made even more appealing after the Panic of 1893 brought a chill to the real estate and housing market that lingered on through the turn of the century.[92]

Addison Street appears to have been invented to define property boundaries (probably along the old line of the 1816 Mayo lots) as much as to maintain the block rhythm set in the Allen plan. Access to the Broad Street streetcar and commercial district may also have been a functional consideration. At any rate, as late as 1905 Addison did not extend through to Park Avenue. The south side of Franklin Street from Allison to Cedar (Davis, now 2200 and 2300 blocks) was one long block held by four different parties, none of whom ever filed a subdivision plat. The partnership of Guy, Coke, Morris and Bolling bought the eastern 400' of the block in May 1890, the same month as the Lee Monument unveiling. Wyndham Bolling's bankruptcy in 1892 forced the eventual (1905) partitioning of the property into four uneven lots (60', 120', 99', 120'), in order to extract his share. The two largest of these lots were first sold intact, to speculators who eventually sold them off piecemeal to prospective homeowners. Six hundred frontage feet in the middle of the block belonged to the heirs of William Palmer, a prominent lawyer in antebellum Richmond who accumulated commercial, rental, and undeveloped property into the 1870s in odd lots scattered all over town, usually by being the high bidder at foreclosure auctions. Emma Palmer Caskie and William H. Palmer each received 300' on West Franklin Street in the partitioning of their father's will in 1884.[93] Caskie's tendency to sell her land off in large increments (either 50' or 100') after 1905 is one reason why the regularity of house lots and the general conformity of house size along the early avenue unravels here, in what became the 2300 block.

John Patteson Branch, president of Merchants National Bank, one of the most important banking houses in the South, owned the largest portion of land between Allison and the Boulevard and was principally responsible for bringing this part of the avenue into conformity with the plan of the Allen Addition. He began acquiring large lots in the West End roughly in

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[90]Richmond Deed Book 179B:184. Plat recorded in Richmond Plat Book 2:175.

[91]Richmond Plat Book 2:183. Richmond Deed book 183B:87.

[92]Although the failure of New York financial houses did not cause an immediate and literal panic in Richmond's business circles, the Haxall mill went into receivership immediately, as did the Richmond Passenger Railway. Hardest hit were Richmond's building and loan insitutions, including Old Dominion Association, presided over by Mayor J. Taylor Ellyson.

[93]Richmond Chancery Court, deed book 125B: 274; Will book 5: 122.

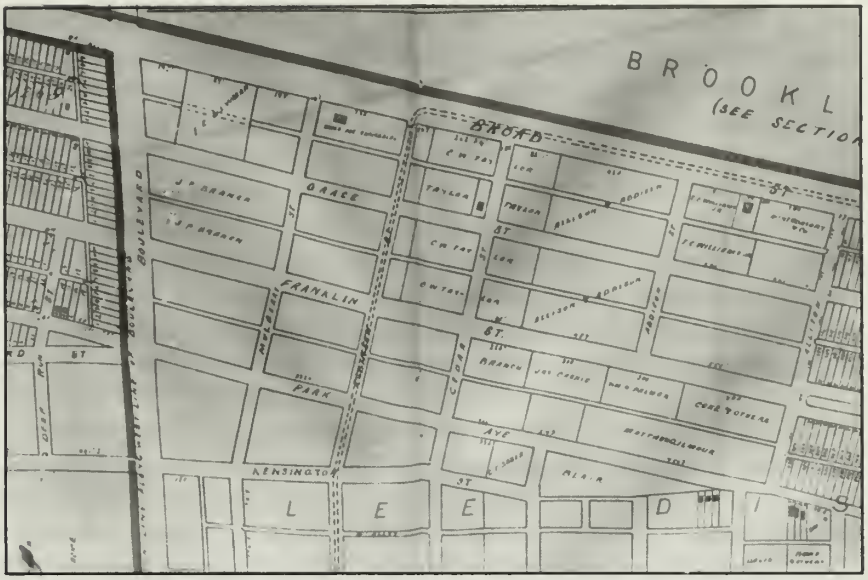

Figure 25 Property belonging to John P. Branch, et al., between the Allen and Sheppard additions. By 1901 Branch had already petitioned to reorient streets through his property to the Richmond city grid. Henrico Co. Annexation Plat Book, 1901.

line with the anticipated continuation of Franklin and Grace streets in the early 1880s. One of his earliest acquisitions was the purchase of twelve-and-a-half acres immediately south of Franklin Street "at Scuffletown" in May 1881; in this transaction, as in most of his land dealings, Branch acted as trustee on behalf of his wife, Mary L. M. Branch.[94] He bought another parcel of just over twelve acres in 1883 from the estate of Dr. John F. Sheppard. This tract lay north of Franklin Street with considerable frontage on both Broad Street (118' wide) and the east side of the newly opened Reservoir Boulevard (104' wide). A plat of the area dated July 1, 1881, shows Franklin Street 40' wide and open as far as Robinson Street (as it was laid out according to the Sydney plan), and "projected" in the direction of the Boulevard. By 1884 Branch controlled all the land (except for about two acres) west of Robinson Street to the Boulevard between Kensington and Broad streets (i.e., both sides of Franklin Street), the block on the south side of Franklin between Robinson and Cedar, and 259' of the block immediately east of Cedar.

In 1889 Branch petitioned the Henrico County Court to close or alter the paths of a number of streets laid out in the Sydney plat of 1817, "the object being to conform to the general lines of Broad, Grace and Franklin streets, as established by the city of Richmond."[95] On the accompanying plat, Franklin Street is shown 80' wide. The court declared the proposed changes a convenience to the public that would also benefit land-holding individuals in the area, but in granting the petition the court declined "to enter any order at present as to the opening and keeping in order of said streets, but leaves the determination of those matters for future consideration." The county declined, in other words, to extend improvements to property it clearly stood to lose to city annexation, even as it cooperated in reshaping the area into an arrangement calculated to speed both development and annexation.

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[94]It is likely that Mary L. M. Branch participated very little in these purchase decisions, if at all; she is known to have spent a good deal of the last years of her life in Europe seeking treatment for a debilitating illness. She died in Germany in 1898. Her 1895 will was written in Paris.

[95]Petition granted by Henrico County Court March 25, 1889, Order Book 1: 324; plat book 6:66. This plat also shows a "county road" 60' east of Robinson connecting Broad and Franklin streets. This was the boundary created by Sheppard and Dooley between their properties when they partitioned in the 1870s along lot boundaries set in Mayo's 1816 plat.

Reorienting cross-streets to relate to Franklin Street rather than the Sydney plat not only made house-lot property division easier but enhanced the overall value of land in the area by extending the order of the city westward. In addition, lots fronting on Broad Street and the Boulevard had exceptional commercial potential. Branch first subdivided his holdings between Franklin and Broad streets from the Boulevard to just east of Mulberry Street in 1890, in time to offer seventy-seven lots in a widely advertised auction sale only five days after the Lee Monument unveiling.[96] The plat accompanying the sale notices shows Franklin and Grace streets completed to the "Westend Boulevard" and all alleys in place. The fact that lots at the corner of the Boulevard and Broad Street are oriented to Broad, and those at the Boulevard and Franklin are oriented to Franklin, expresses Branch's perception that Broad and Franklin were the more important streets, therefore either likelier to attract buyers or to bring a better lot price.

When the Jefferson Davis Monument Association accepted the intersection of Franklin and Cedar streets as the site for the monument in 1904, the city widened the crossing to form a circle, condemning surrounding property and paying the owners more than $7,000 in compensation.[97] Half of the total went to John P. Branch, who owned the land on the south side of Franklin on either side of Cedar Street (Davis Avenue). But when the city extended the name "Monument Avenue" west to Boulevard and condemned property on either side to widen the street from 80' to 140', Branch donated 30' off the front of each of his blocks without compensation. Branch and his fellow landholders on West Franklin stood only to profit from the congruence of their properties with the scheme of Monument Avenue, since it reinforced the perception on the part of prospective home builders that they were buying into a planned, exceptional and exclusive urban environment. Because they anticipated annexation and the extension of municipal amenities to increase the value of their investments, the owners of these large, undeveloped blocks and parcels readily offered land to the city in exchange for streets, paving, and utility connections. But for reasons the records do not make clear, the city rendered the whole widening process unnecessarily complicated. The council passed the first resolution to widen Franklin Street to 140' in May 1905, then repealed it in 1906 and substituted a plan to widen the street to 130'.[98] Landowners were asked to dedicate 25' in the front of their lots to the city in exchange for the addition of 5' to the rear of each lot, taken from the alleys, and the city's promise to gutter, curb and pave Franklin Street sidewalks from Allison to Boulevard. Property owners along Park Avenue and Grace Street were to donate a small strip off the backs of their lots to restore the alleys to their former widths; their compensation was the city's agreement to either improve the alleys or curb, gutter, and pave sidewalks on these or neighboring streets.

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[96]Henrico County Plat Book 6:82. Advertisements, John P. Branch "Land" file, Thomas Branch & Company papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[97]Although the Monument Avenue site was chosen in 1903, the Council resolution to help pay for the land and foundation was not approved until October 14, 1904. Richmond Deed Book 187A:2. The circumference of the circle cut 45' off of Cedar Street and 54'-4" off of Franklin at this corner.

[98]No explanation was given in the resolution for the change in the dimensions. The repeal of the 1905 resolution was included in Richmond Deed Book 188C:417, June 18, 1906, while the new widening resolution was adopted by the council January 12, 1906. The agreement with Park Avenue property owners came one month later. Deeds accompanying these proceedings were recorded in Richmond Deed Books 188C:417; 191B:284; 191C:230; 191C:231; 191C:232.

A major snag appeared in the form of a pre-existing three-story brick house at 2226 W. Franklin St., the home of widow Adeline Brauer. Brauer's trustee, N. W. Bowe, was cited in the city's condemnation proceedings as a tenant in the house, which the city directed be pulled down and rebuilt in accordance with the redrawn building line on the widened street. Bowe was granted $600 compensation and $7,900 in damages for the destruction of the house.[99]

Once this first round of widening was accomplished, the city entered into the whole process again in order to increase the avenue's final width to 140'. In exchange for another 5' off the front of their lots, landowners along the avenue got 5' more from the alleys, which were then restored by more land taken from the backs of lots facing Grace Street and Park Avenue. In addition to grading and paving the alleys, the city promised to open the avenue between Allison and Boulevard on or before March 1, 1907.[100] City gas, water, and sewer pipes already installed at the front of the affected Monument Avenue lots were moved to the alleys at the city's expense.[101] Because of these actions, Monument Avenue lots along the north side from Allison to Mulberry are only 130' deep.[102]

In a special ceremony, the Jefferson Davis Monument was formally "delivered to the perpetual keeping of the city of Richmond" in 1908.[103] Cedar Street was renamed Davis Avenue and widened to 92' from Grace Street to Park Avenue in 1908, at a cost of $16,500.[104] The installation of asphalt block paving lagged behind both the progression of monuments and the first smattering of home building down the avenue. It extended to Addison Street (now Strawberry) by 1910, to Davis by 1913, and reached Boulevard in 1915, the same year the cornerstone was laid for the monument to General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. That unveiling and dedication took place October 11, 1919.[105]

Branch did not plan the subdivision of his property on the south side of Franklin, nor did he promote its sale in any concerted way, as he had on the north side in 1890. He gave the eastern half of the block between Cedar and Robinson streets to his son, John Kerr Branch, as a home site in 1903 (although construction on the house did not begin until 1917), with the understanding that one of his daughters would build on the other half of the block. The entire

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[99]Condemnation notice dated March 12, 1906. Much discussion attended this decision concerning the Bowe/Brauer property; several council members believed the amount of compensation and damages paid was too high. Popular lore on the avenue has it that the house was moved 30' back on its lot rather than razed, but this is not likely.

[100]Resolution approved August 17, 1906; adopted November 11, 1906. Separate agreement with Grace Street and Park Avenue landowners, October 1906. All of these agreements are signed by every property owner affected by the changes. The November agreement included the direction that the line of widening was "to project straight across Cedar Street and not around the circle of the radius of that point," a reference to the earlier provision for the Davis Monument site.

[101]Council resolution, Decermber 15, 1906.

[102]Because Branch had not subdivided the south side of the avenue when these changes were taking place (and therefore had not created alleys to finagle with), lot depth in the 2600 block is still 150'. Branch also managed to retain 150' lots on the north side of the 2700 block by moving the alley north and shortening Grace Street lots.

[103]Christian, 512.

[104]LaPrade, 106.

[105]Monument Avenue and "Stonewall" Jackson Monument vertical files, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia; McGehee, 106.

block between Mulberry Street and the Boulevard became the site of the First Baptist Church in 1928, but before then the lot was considered undesirable, low-lying and so badly drained that one account described "a small lake" covering a portion of it. Only one lot in the block between Robinson and Mulberry was built upon in the 1910s, at No. 2625; eventually the whole block was divided into only five house lots.

The differences in lot sizes and arrangements between the north and south sides of the avenue from the Allen Addition to the Boulevard indicate how important planned development and regular lot division were to the consistency of the avenue's character. In the former Palmer and Branch properties where this invisible armature was not in place, the effect of an urban street wall gave way to a more "suburban" play with space, and allowed anomalies such as the Branch House and the First Baptist Church. This comparatively disorderly development took place after 1912, the year John P. Branch transferred his remaining properties to the Kingsland Land Corporation, a family-owned company run at that time by his son and son-in-law, John Kerr Branch and Robert G. Cabell.[106] John P. died in 1914, but spoke out strongly in the last years of his life against the city's aggressive expansion--especially the 1910 annexation of mostly working-class Manchester--and the "extravagant" extension of city services and improvements to new areas.[107]

The Sheppard estate

Pushing the Boulevard through to Broad Street in 1883 asserted a major element in the Sydney grid across the path of Franklin Street's westward advance. Unlike more minor streets whose paths were later adjusted or "corrected" between Kensington or Park and Broad, the Boulevard served the higher purpose of a direct, formal communication between the expanding Reservoir (later Byrd) Park, the city's most important commercial thoroughfare, and elite suburbs to the north. The former Clover Street, 55' wide like Sydney's other north-south arteries, became a double carriageway with median, tree-lined and 104' wide--a street important enough in both form and function to supersede the formal rationality of the avenue.

Land in the future path of the avenue west of the Boulevard to Roseneath Road was either owned and subdivided by the heirs of John F. Sheppard, or belonged to Lee Annex Realty Corporation, a residential development company run by an investment group. Sheppard was a doctor from Buckingham County about whom little is known, beyond the fact that he passed the war years in New York City as a successful investor, and later spent time in Saratoga Springs, New York. He apparently never lived in Richmond, although his brother Nicholas C., also a doctor, farmed and raised a family on a portion of John's land in Henrico County. Surviving documentation of John F. Sheppard's life includes the record of his land dealings in the West End between 1857 and his death in 1879.

Sheppard acquired just over forty-three acres of farmland south of the Richmond turnpike and east of what would become Roseneath Road in Henrico County from flour magnate (and

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[106]Thomas Branch & Co. papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[107]Silver, 67-8.

Figure 26 In Sheppard's addition, straddling Monument Avenue (Franklin Street), lots are oriented to Boulevard as well as to Monument Avenue. 1889 Baist atlas.

Haxall partner) Lewis D. Crenshaw just before the Civil War.[108] In partnership with James Dooley in the 1870s, Sheppard bought up the four-acre lots in John Mayo's 1816 subdivision east of the Old Coal Pit Road to the Allen lot, including the estate of Thomas Talley. The county granted his petition to close the Old Coal Pit Road through his property in 1878, the same year that he and Dooley dissolved their partnership and divided their holdings on either side of a new county road along Mayo plat lot lines and 60' east of the present path of Robinson Street. According to a will probated in Buckingham County, Sheppard, who never married, left his property to his brother's three children--John F., Jr., May Juliana, and Maria Sheppard Parsons--even though Nicholas was still alive. Apparently Nicholas had a reputation as an inept businessman; he did, however, qualify as guardian for the children's interests, and it was he who dedicated to the county a right-of-way through the property for the extension of the Boulevard. Land east of the new road was apparently sold off in the settling of John's estate.

In April 1889 N. C. Sheppard et al. subdivided that portion of their property between Leonard and Broad streets west of the Boulevard. Franklin Street, 80' wide, and Park and Grace streets extended west to a point about 150' beyond the western line of Sheppard Street. Lots along Franklin and Grace were the standard 30' x 150', with 20' alleys down the middle of the blocks.[109] The plan of this area, labelled "Sheppard's Addition," was included in the 1889 Baist atlas of Richmond and vicinity. The atlas shows Sheppard Street through the plan perpendicular to Franklin and parallel to a projection of West Street (now Belmont Avenue) across the area west of the subdivision.[110]

The Baist mapmaker erred, however, in showing Franklin Street continuing in a straight line beyond the Sheppard Addition. Just east of West Street, Franklin Street to Roseneath Road

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[108]Henrico County Deed Book 70:146, July 7, 1857. Crenshaw may have used this land to grow feed for the mules that helped power his mill.

[109]Henrico County Plat Book 6:68.

[110]William G. Baist, Atlas of the City of Richmond and Vicinity (1889).

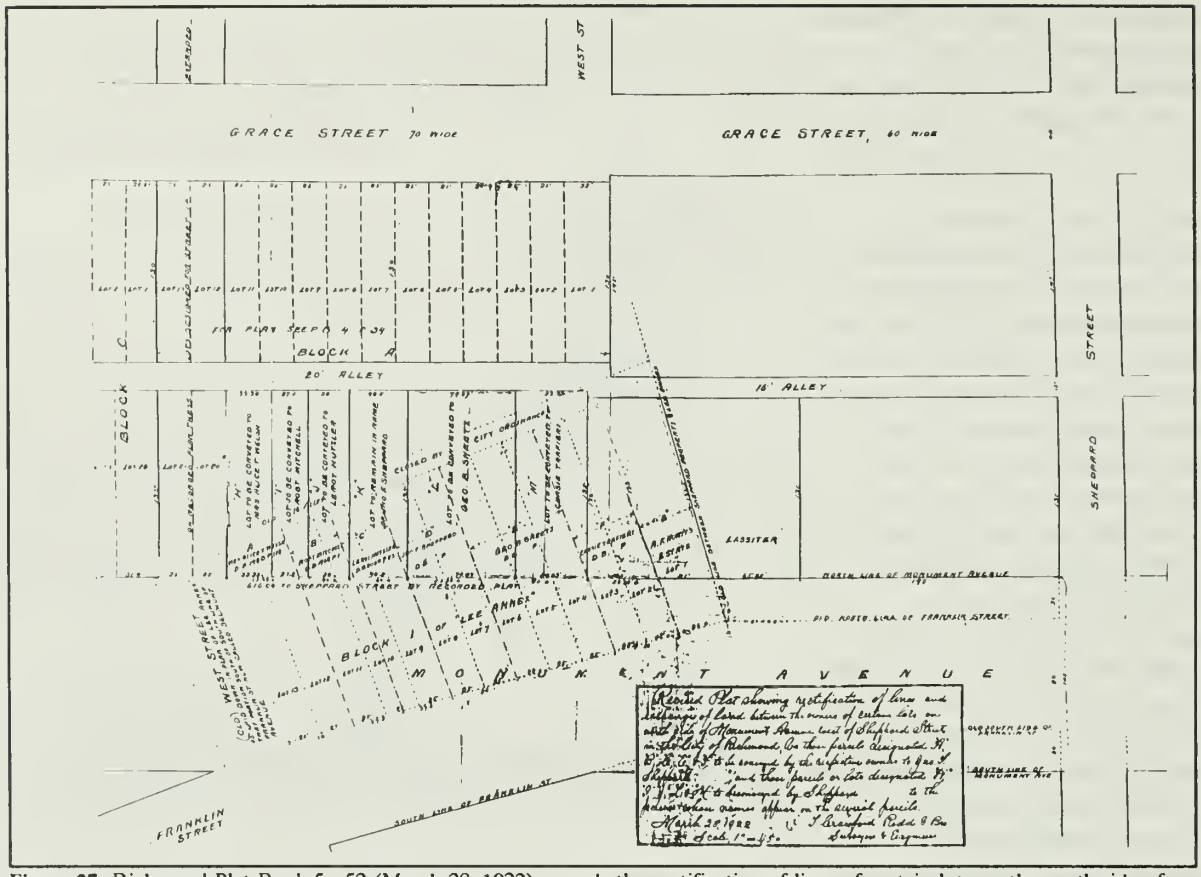

Figure 27 Richmond Plat Book 5 : 52 (March 28, 1922) records the rectification of lines of certain lots on the north side of the avenue west of the point where Franklin Street veered south.

deflected to the south at an angle coinciding with the street pattern of the Sydney plan, indicating that the principals of the Roseneath Land Corporation, which controlled a large tract of land immediately west of Sheppard's Addition and south of Franklin, had decided to tie their development fortunes to the future prospects of the expanding Sydney plan rather than gamble on the continuation of Franklin Street past the Boulevard.[111] Their Roseneath Addition, platted in April 1903 between the Boulevard and Roseneath Road, began at Kensington and ended at a 16' alley along the southern edge of the Sheppard estate.[112] Just over a year later, the company sold out to the Lee Annex Realty Corporation, which retained their subdivision plan.[113]

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[111]Lewis Crenshaw sold James A. Seddon two parcels of land in July 1857. Seddon's heirs sold 44.52 acres to Leon Strause, R. M. Raab and Emanuel Raab in 1887, who in turn sold the land to the trustees of a group of about twenty investors for $46,054. In settlement of a lawsuit, this tract plus lot No. 511 in the plan of Sydney was sold at auction in November 1902 to T. A. Cary, president of the Roseneath Land Corporation.

[112]Henrico County plat book 8:60.

[113]Henrico County plat book 8:83. Besides the name change, this plat differs from the previous one only in that seventeen lots--all fronting on Franklin Street--are marked "sold."

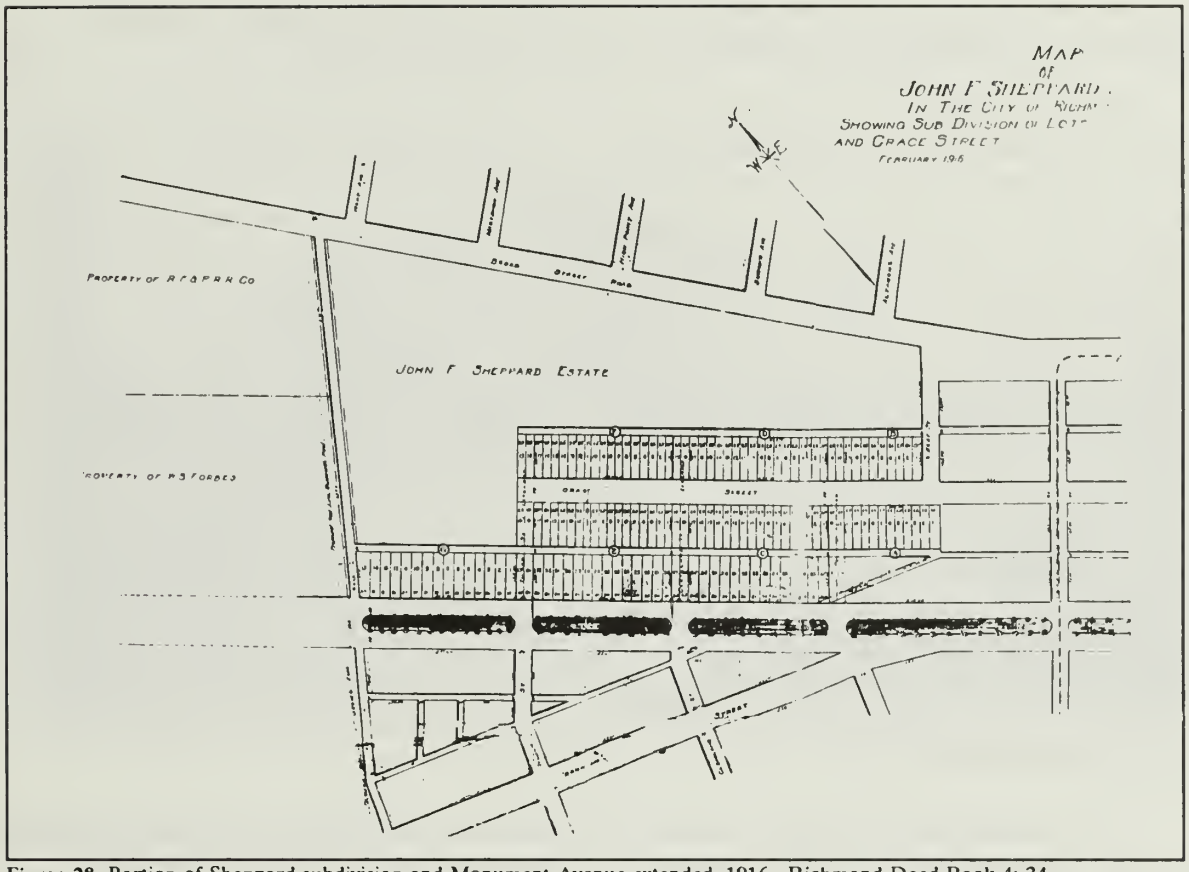

Figure 28 Portion of Sheppard subdivision and Monument Avenue extended, 1916. Richmond Deed Book 4: 34.

Making this portion of the avenue fell to the city, which extended its western boundary to Roseneath Road in the annexation of 1906. A resolution dated August 16, 1907, directed the city council "to acquire by gift, purchase, condemnation or otherwise sufficient land to extend Monument Avenue from Boulevard to Roseneath Road, of uniform 140' width." The accompanying plan contained a plat of the land to be condemned, along with the names and residences of landowners affected by the ruling. At that time, only the Sheppard Addition and Lee Annex were divided into lots; beyond Belmont Avenue (West Street) the north side of Monument Avenue and the wedge of land on the south side between Franklin and Lee Annex remained unsubdivided.[114] Along with a financial settlement, compensation for the shearing of 30' off the front of each lot included adding 10' from the 20' alleys to the back of each lot, then taking 5' off the back of lots facing Grace Street and Park Avenue to make the alleys 15' wide--moving the alleys 10' either north or south, in other words, in the same process employed up to

[114]Richmond Plat Book 3:10. The final petition for this action was filed January 19, 1908; a copy of the resolution is included in Deed Book 199B:468, followed by a list of compensations. These are in Sheppard's Addition, blocks 1, 2, 5, and 6, and in Lee Annex, blocks 2 and 8.

Boulevard the year before.[115] This section of the avenue, which cost the city $31,534.57 in compensation to landowners, was graded and opened to traffic in 1909.[116]

The irregularities created by the superimposition of the avenue upon the Sydney grid through this section were not completely resolved before development took place.[117] South-side lot boundaries from No. 3009 to No. 3213 still include the diagonals of the Lee Annex plan, and buildings from No. 3019 to No. 3133 address the avenue at an angle that expresses the authority of Lee Annex deed restrictions, which stipulated that building orientations could not vary from the original plat. The north side of the avenue west of Wayne Street, meanwhile, was not subdivided until 1916, although this did not yet include the land fronting on Broad Street.[118] Grace Street extended only to the proposed path of Tilden Street, which was reoriented at the alley north of Franklin Street to cross the avenue at a right angle. This plat emphasized the character of the avenue by showing the double row of trees down the medians, which were colored in. It also showed the streetcar track down Sheppard Street from Broad.

Once the subdivision of the remainder of the estate was completed in 1921, the Sheppards submitted a plan to the city for laying out alleys and dedicating streets through the property bounded by Monument, Roseneath, Broad and Wayne (West).[119] In exchange, the city agreed to grade these within one year, and to install curbs, gutters, and gas, water and sewer lines within two years.[120]

Beyond Roseneath Road

The extension of Monument Avenue beyond the survey area began with a City Council resolution approved May 14, 1915, authorizing the condemnation of a 140'-wide strip from Roseneath Road to Horse Pen Road, the limit of Richmond's 1914 annexation. Immediately west of Roseneath was the estate of Whitmell S. Forbes, a prominent "capitalist," Baptist, and owner of a streetcar line who styled himself as something of a tycoon in the 1910s-20s. His mansion at 3401 Monument Ave., built in 1914, was a huge Colonial Revival showplace in yellow brick, replete with terraces, balconies, swags and garlands, a giant-order Corinthian portico, and balustrades at four different levels. Forbes's estate stretched from Park Avenue to Broad Street and from Roseneath to Hamilton Road. The Belt Line Railway passed through the western portion of it. The city paid Forbes $45,000 for the avenue right of way, including the cost of

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[115]Plan of proposed change in alleys, drawing No. 27841, Office of the City Engineer, October 26, 1908.

[116]LaPrade, 107. By 1917, paving on only the north side of the avenue stopped short of Sheppard Street; both sides were paved to West Avenue in 1921.

[117]This reorientation of the lots involved an exchange of land between the owners of these lots and John F. Sheppard, Jr., made possible by the subdivision of the remainder of the Sheppard estate in 1921. Richmond plat book 5:68.

[118]Richmond Plat Book 4:34, recorded along with a deed of partitioning of this portion of the estate between the three heirs, Deed Book 236B:329.

[119]Subdivision recorded in Richmond Plat Book 5:68. Street extensions are in 5:71, 5:72, and 5:90.

[120]City council resolution, January 13, 1922.

Figure 29 The grandiose Colonial Revival mansion of Whitmell S. Forbes, built in 1914 at 3401 Monument Ave. on the south side of the block beyond Roseneath Road. Forbes lost his fortune--and his house--in the 1929 crash. Valentine Museum.

lowering the Belt Line tracks.

Property owners west of Hamilton dedicated land for the extension to the city, with the exception of a black settlement that the city condemned, compensating residents $2,344. The cross-section of the avenue beyond Roseneath was changed from the original design; the 44' median became 36', the roadways narrowed from 36' to 32' each, while sidewalks were broadened from 12' to 20'.[121] In 1925, the city approved the rounding off of the corners of the intersection of Monument Avenue and Roseneath Road and set aside a circle 44' in diameter in the middle of the intersection, apparently as a future monument site, although this was never realized.[122]

BUILDING ON THE AVENUE

> "I tell you what, Gabriella, my dear, we're becoming a number one city. Everything's new. We haven't left so much as an old brick lying around if we could help it. If you were to go back there to Hill Street, you'd scarcely know it for the hospitals and schools we've got there, and as for this part of the town--well, I reckon the apartment houses will fairly take your breath away. Apartment houses! Well, that's what I call progress--apartment houses and skyscrapers, and we've got them, too, down on Main Street. . . .Yes, that's the word--we're becoming a

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[121] LaPrade, 107-08; Richmond Plat Book 4: 35, 39.

[122] Richmond Plat Book 6: 176; City Council resolution, February 12, 1925.

> metropolis. If you don't believe me, just watch as we go up Franklin Street to Monument Avenue. I suppose you thought of us still as a poor folksy little Southern city, with a lot of ground going to waste in gardens and green stuff. Well, you just wait till you see Monument Avenue. It's the handsomest boulevard south of Washington. It's all new, every brick of it. There's not a house the whole way up that isn't as fresh as paint, and the avenue is just as straight as if you'd drawn it with a ruler . . ."[123]

In 1905, a self-confessed morbid fascination with the vanquished citadel of the Lost Cause brought consummate Yankee Henry James to Richmond. After some initial surprises, he quickly adjusted what he interpreted as the city's lack of vitality to his own romantic expectations. His description of the Lee Monument for the Fortnightly Review summarized the melancholy, elegaic tone of his travelogue:

> He does well, we feel, to sit as high as he may, and to appear, in his lone survival, to see as far, and to overlook as many things; for the irony of fate, crowning the picture, is surely stamped in all sharpness on the scene about him. The place is the mere vague centre of two or three crossways, without form and void, with a circle half sketched by three or four groups of small, new, mean houses. It is somehow empty in spite of being ugly, and yet expressive in spite of being empty. "Desolate," one has called the air; and the effect is, strangely, of some smug "up-to-date" specimen or pattern of desolation.[124]

By the time James' description of early Monument Avenue was published in 1906, it was more atmospheric than accurate. By that year, the avenue was no "vague centre"; its formal qualities were clearly articulated and solidly established. Roadways were graded, curbed and paved with gravel; medians were curbed and planted with grass and a double row of maple trees as far west as Allison Street; sidewalks were paved, for the most part, and tree-lined through much of the Allen Addition. Building consisted of twenty-one completed residences with perhaps a dozen more under construction, all of brick or stone and ranging from upright three-story Queen Anne town houses to broad, solid Colonial Revival mansions of 5,000 to 7,000 square feet. Monument Avenue was indeed up-to-date, and Richmonders, whether smug or just savvy, were clamoring to get in on the development before the best lots were snapped up.

The majority of original homeowners within the survey area built their residences within one or two years of purchasing property. Perhaps half of these bought from one of the three principal land-holding families; the rest dealt with speculators who turned a consistent and tidy profit as self-appointed intermediaries in the avenue's westward progress. The proportion of Allen Addition buyers who acquired their lots from this second tier of developers was closer to two-thirds. By 1901, the year utilities were extended to the avenue and the first house was built, eighty-four of 134 lots fronting on Monument (including quadrant lots) had been sold, mostly in blocks of five lots each coinciding with the checkerboard distribution of lots among the Allen heirs.

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[123]Ellen Glasgow, Life and Gabriella: The Story of a Woman's Courage (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), 501.

[124]Henry James, The American Scene (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 282. Chapter XII, "Richmond," was originally published in Fortnightly Review 86 (1906): 850-70.

Speculators buying these blocks were not big-time professional developers whose fortunes were made in real estate. They tended instead to be local merchants or professionals with enough income from other enterprises to be attracted to both the profit potential and the gamesmanship of land trading in Richmond. As businessmen, they appreciated the highly desirable and marketable formal qualities of this exceptional residential environment. As members of or aspirants to the socially and politically elite ranks responsible for its development, they were also aware of the symbolic import of this new urban showcase. Unrelated to its evolution into the Confederacy's great pilgrimage road, Monument Avenue as a development was Richmond's only claim to "modern," "progressive" city planning, to an urban vision capable of employing the spirit of the City Beautiful in the service of the New South. The city's energetic civic and commercial elite recognized in the avenue a niche that would serve their values and their needs. Little wonder, then, that the people who made and profited from the avenue almost invariably made it their home.

R. Henry Harwood and Henry S. Wallerstein were typical of Monument Avenue speculators. Harwood and his brother, John S., dealt very successfully in wholesale oils as Harwood Bros., Inc. John became one of the first residents when his buff-brick, Queen Anne/Colonial Revival-style mansion at 2000 Monument Ave. was completed in 1902. R. Henry began buying parcels of lots in the 2000 block the year before, in partnership with O. Herbert Funsten, a realtor who, a few years later, joined James B. Elam's real estate and auction firm.[125] In 1902 Harwood and Funsten paid Bettie and Roger Gregory $15,000 for two blocks of five lots each, at a rate of $50 per frontage foot. Two years later, lots in the same block sold for $85 per frontage foot; by 1905, lots only a block away that sold in 1901 for $60 a frontage foot were going for as much as $200, after changing hands four times in those four years. This pattern of intermediaries consistently jacking up land prices was the means by which speculator-residents on the avenue insured not only the profitability of their investment but also the stability and exclusivity of their neighborhood. R. Henry Harwood built a fine red-brick Colonial Revival mansion at 2200 Monument, one block west of his brother, by 1910. His was one of the last of eight grand houses constructed on the north side of that block between 1908 and 1910.

Henry S. Wallerstein may have been the most active land trader in Richmond from 1887 to 1940, a period in which transactions in his name alone filled more than ninety-four pages of city grantor/grantee indexes. He was certainly the most active speculator on Monument Avenue between Lombardy Street and Roseneath Road. In his other business life he was president of S. Ullman's Son, Inc., a large grocery wholesaler, and vice president of Richmond Building Corporation. Two land purchases typify Wallerstein's approach to real estate: 150' in the 2000 block of Monument in 1901 in partnership with his brother-in-law, Leo E. Ullman, and 120' in the 2200 block in 1906, this time with J. D. Carneal.

In the first transaction, the partners sold the subdivided lots on this already-improved block either to home builders or other speculators within a year's time, turning a modest but consistent profit. They sold two of these lots to the Harwood brothers, who sold them the same day for a neat profit of $300. In the second transaction, Wallerstein and Carneal acquired the unsubdivided land just prior to the City Council resolution to widen West Franklin Street for the

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[125]Both men built homes in the same block on the avenue, Funsten at 1815 in 1905 and Elam at 1825 by 1907.

extension of the avenue. They partitioned the property and began selling in 1910, after widening was completed and the new avenue was paved through to Addison (Strawberry) Street.

Wallerstein's own home on the avenue was the flamboyant Tudor/Gothic mansion at No. 2312 (fig. 97), designed by the firm Carneal and Johnston and completed by 1915, two years before ground was broken for the grandiose, similarly styled Branch House in the next block west. The already baronial scale of the Wallerstein house is further exaggerated by the quasi-institutional implications of "academic Gothic" as an architectural style. However, much as Harwood had built in a "proven" style on an already "proven" block, there was nothing speculative or adventuresome about Wallerstein's commitment to finally settle on the avenue whose elite reputation he, other land traders and home builders, and the original developers had already cemented. By 1915 the north side of the 2300 block was a street wall of grand houses by Richmond's best architects--a "sure thing," socially and financially. Wallerstein's architectural statement may have been ostentatious but within acceptable bounds. It was also an investment in the future, as he continued to deal in land farther down the developing avenue.

Between 1905 and 1925, Monument Avenue's function as Richmond's "Prosperity Row" would encourage a stunning array of architectural elaborations as new residents competed for distinction, albeit across a remarkably narrow stylistic spectrum and within an even narrower range of building types. Few home builders violated these unwritten constraints that governed scale as well; apparently distinguishing oneself on the avenue was not as important as conforming to, reinforcing and, above all, being identified with the standards of this new social arrangement. Certainly neither building codes nor deed restrictions explain how this homogenization came about. The controls that dictated what one could and should build in response to this new urban space were as abstract as they were pervasive. But they were not automatic; the parameters were negotiable, subject to the evolutionary forces of the marketplace and shifting standards of "good taste."

Residential building regulations for the city as a whole were equally unprogrammatic. As in most cities in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, the authors of Richmond's building code were preoccupied with fire prevention. Thus, beyond restricting building materials in certain parts of the city to brick, stone, or metal and setting strict standards for such things as the thickness of party walls or the height of roof parapets, there was little in the code that addressed the form, plan, or appearance of houses.[126] The only effective restrictions on what could be built on Monument Avenue were contained in deed covenants conveyed by the original developers.

Early deeds in the Allen Addition required only that the front wall of the house be set back 20' from the street line, with the allowable exception of a three-sided bay no wider than 15', projecting no farther than 5', with canted sides at no more than a 45-degree angle from the plane of the facade. Here the direct influence of Commonwealth Avenue in Boston--and the hand of C. P. E. Burgwyn--is evident. Houses in the Back Bay had to conform to a building line either 20' or 22' from the street (depending on the avenue). Bays, however, were allowed as exceptions to this setback as long as they did not exceed certain dimensions set forth in the deeds and

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[126]Henry Beck, Building Code, City of Richmond, 1908-1912 (Richmond, Virginia: Clyde W. Saunders, 1912).

summarized in a scale drawing accompanying each deed.[127] These dimensions, their written description, and the drawing were remarkably similar to those accompanying Allen Addition deeds, indicating that Burgwyn's familiarity with the form and character of Boston's Back Bay avenues was thorough indeed, and that early Monument Avenue's formal resemblance to Commonwealth Avenue was deliberate.

After a few years, other restrictions were added. These (1) excluded blacks "or anyone of African descent" as owners or renters (although servants could live in); (2) allowed only a private residence to be built, but prohibited the construction of flats or more than one residence per lot; (3) set aside a 5' strip on at least one side of each house as unbuildable; (4) stipulated that all construction be brick or stone; (5) required that no entry could be less than 18" from "the nearest co-terminous owner"; and (6) assigned a twenty-five year tenure to the above restrictions. The precise attention to bays and their dimensions reflected prevailing Victorian building fashion. The three-sided bay was an effective means of expanding available floor space, increasing light and ventilation (especially in close quarters), and enlivening a facade. In a street wall fronting on an urban boulevard, bays also allowed residents to enjoy a view of the street without surrendering their privacy to pedestrians on the boulevard's public promenade.

If the Allen Addition covenants are interpreted as prescriptions instead of restrictions, they describe a streetscape much like what evolved on Grace Street or Park Avenue--one typical,

Figure 30 The Allen Addition section of Grace Street, built 1900-10, demonstrates the Allen deed restrictions on building setback, materials, and allowable bays. Building in the left foreground was the Jefferson Club. Valentine Museum.

[127]Bunting, 251-253, especially the diagram on 253.

in fact, of much of the Fan District: a close fabric of side-hall town houses creating an undulating street wall of similar, same-scale homes. This affordable, more familiar scale attracted many buyers eager to build in proximity to the monumental boulevard but intimidated, perhaps, by the prospect of actually building there. Williams reports that there were forty-eight homes on Park Avenue between Lombardy and the Boulevard by 1907 and ninety-seven on Grace Street, compared to thirty-five on Monument.[128]

Figure 31 The first house with a Monument Avenue address, No. 1601, built in 1894 for tobacco manufacturers' supplies dealer Otway Warwick, occupied a quadrant lot that actually faced Lombardy Street. Valentine Museum.

Initial responses to the problem of what to build in this new space were either tentative or conservative, in scale, form, and style. The earliest building type was an upright, additive form defined in this study as a town house for the purpose of distinguishing it from a row house or mansion. The Monument Avenue town house is two-and-a-half or three stories tall, has a side-hall floor plan, and either a false-mansard or a flat roof.[129] The building is narrow and long, to fit an urban lot, and even narrower in the rear to bring more light and air into back rooms, and allow porches and balconies on the side. All of its "architecture" is on the facade; its end walls are usually flat and, since they are not meant to be seen, more coarsely finished--in a cheaper brick, usually, laid in American bond instead of English or Flemish. A town house is an additive

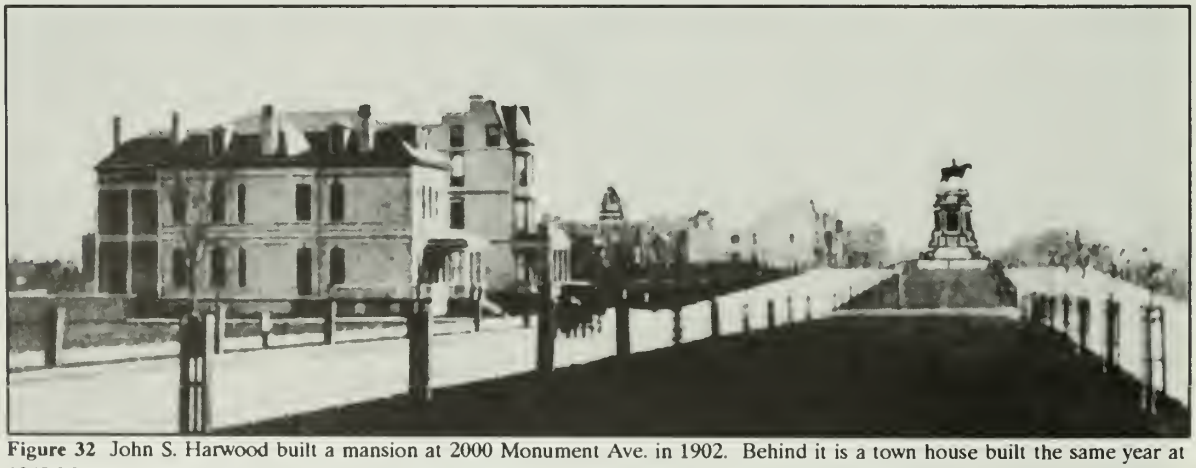

Figure 32 John S. Harwood built a mansion at 2000 Monument Ave. in 1902. Behind it is a town house built the same year at 1842 Monument Ave. Monument Avenue Centennial Committee.

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[128] Williams, 49. The Monument Avenue figure is from our own data.

[129] They may also have hipped roofs, although these are of such a low pitch that, from the street, the building appears to have a flat roof.

form in that, although freestanding, it is not meant to stand alone but among other town houses. The first town house on the avenue, a Queen Anne/Classical Revival hybrid built at No. 1601 for a dealer in tobacco manufacturer's supplies actually faced Lombardy Street, but it was followed by a more straightforward Queen Anne example at No. 1842 (the northeast corner of Monument and Meadow) in 1902 and a development of four, more conservative Queen Anne town houses on the north side of the 1600 block a year later. All of these included a bay on the facade.

Figure 33 Building contractor Henry H. George's house at 1831 Monument Ave. is typical of the introduction of the freestanding Colonial Revival mansion to the avenue, beginning in 1905, when this photograph was taken. Valentine Museum.

Town houses occur in most blocks in the survey area but predominate in the three blocks of the Allen Addition. By 1907 Queen Anne styling gave over to the Colonial Revival, and the columned front porch began to stretch the width of the building, but the floor plan did not change significantly. This held true even into the 1910s-20s, when architectural styling became more eclectic, either in the "modern" (as in up-to-date) or the "academic" period revival sense.

John S. Harwood's house at 2000 Monument in 1902 was the earliest mansion on the avenue. A mansion differed from a town house, for the purposes of this study, in both subtle and essential ways: it was generally larger, "boxier" and squarer in plan, more horizontal than vertical in character, and more likely to have a symmetrical facade with a central entry. If its roof was not hipped it was pitched, usually with side gables and often with a crossing front gable. Gambrel roofs were unusual on the avenue. Harwood's house was a modest, very urban kind of mansion, designed for a lot that was still much deeper than it was wide; the house could stand alone, but only awkwardly. By 1907 city mansions on the avenue achieved a more assured, independent sense of their own substance along with a more programmatic sense of style by embracing the red-brick solidity and balance of the Colonial Revival. This new turn was first evident in development on the south side of the 1800 block, but by 1910 it determined the tenor of building up the avenue as far as Mulberry Street.

After about 1907, the change in fashion from Queen Anne asymmetry to the classically symmetrical ideal of the Colonial Revival "upped the ante" on the street by encouraging wider lots. One innovative response in keeping with Monument Avenue's thoroughly urban character was the city "villa," which borrowed its street-side geometry and ornamentation from the European precedent of the Renaissance, upper-class urban house. The earliest of these was an elaborately detailed Renaissance Revival residence at No. 2037, as large as some apartment houses, built in 1911. A more mid-scaled example was the distinctively upright and modern-looking Mediterranean "villa" at No. 1821, built for the family of fertilizer executive James A.

Moncure in 1914. Moncure's house was symmetrical yet only two bays wide, a neat response to the obstacle the Colonial Revival style posed for a good many potential builders on the avenue: how to afford a center-hall house and the wide lot it required on the most expensive street in town. In 1907, the two-bay solution produced the first side-hall-plan Colonial Revival at 1815 Monument, the home of O. Herbert Funsten. A rash of these followed over the next several years, especially in the 2200 and 2300 blocks. The form even became a specialty of the local architectural firm Scarborough and Howell. The side-hall Colonial Revival design kept the idea of a central, formal entry pavilion with balanced wings but simply omitted one of the wings. The result was a house that required only one-and-a-half lots instead of two, with the two bays writ large enough to convey the scale appropriate to a Monument Avenue mansion.

The general increase in scale that occurred west of the Allen Addition came about, in part, through the combination of a less codified pattern of land division, changing architectural fashion, an evolving sense of Monument Avenue's social and economic niche, and looser deed restrictions. Branch covenants included the exclusion of blacks, the prohibition against building anything other than a single-family residence, a strict 20' setback and the 5' strip between buildings, but no bays were mentioned or allowed.[130] Only an open porch or steps could project from the front of the house. More interesting, however, was what the covenants assumed; attached to the agreement between the Kingsland Land Corporation and the 1913 purchaser of the lot at No. 2325 was a requirement that any new house had to be built at a cost "in keeping with the houses now on Monument Avenue in this vicinity, to wit not less than $6,000"--a figure that was already outdated.[131] In assembling a lot that was, at one time, over 190' wide, Jaquelin Taylor bought 112' from Kingsland Corporation at $205 per frontage foot--nearly $23,000. Several houses built during World War I--including Taylor's stuccoed Mediterranean "country villa" with its side pavilions and gardens, John Kerr Branch's gargantuan 28,000-square-foot Tudor Revival city house at No. 2501, and W. S. Forbes' sprawling Colonial Revival "suburban" mansion far west at 3401--represent the *apotheosis extremus* of the Monument Avenue house as conspicuous display.

By the 1920s, grandiosity and the showy tendency to overload a facade with architectural details large and small were pushed aside by a keener, subtler, more socially formidable standard. Well-informed "good taste" replaced money as the measure of status. In this era of eclecticism, "style" had become professionalized; the high-style home had both "references" (preferably "academic") and credentials. The best houses were less conspicuous than correct in proportion and detail, and like finely crafted objects their currency in the marketplace of social status was greatly enhanced by the signature of the craftsman. Architects Duncan Lee and William Lawrence Bottomley were the most expensive and the most sought after, but other firms often proved equal to the challenge. The very cosmopolitan city house for Dr. Stuart McGuire at 2304 Monument Ave. (figs. 58-60) designed by the firm Baskervill & Lambert, was modelled after Mompesson, the same house in Salisbury, England, that inspired Bottomley's design for Robert Cabell at No. 2601. Both were completed in 1926. The Colonial Revival style also took on a certain intellectual rigor as architects strove for "authenticity" in the best eclectic tradition;

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[130] The requirement of single-family residences included exceptions for a stable and/or private garage in the rear, "with living rooms therein."

[131] This provision varied, and could be quite specific: in Jaquelin Taylor's deed of purchase, the "to wit, $6,000" clause was left out; at 2708, A. L. Straus agreed in 1912 to build a house that cost at least as much as the dwelling "on the adjoining lot to the east."

Duncan Lee's houses at Nos. 2336 and 2314, Bottomley's at No. 2309, and Baskervill & Lambert's reference to Carter's Grove at No. 2609 are the best examples.[132] On the avenue, the 2300, 2600 (south side) and 3100 (north side) blocks testify to the range and extent of the fashion for academic revivals from the mid 1910s through the 1920s.

Figure 34 Jaquelin Taylor built a Mediterranean villa at 2325 Monument Ave. in 1914. Boucher, HABS.

Grand single-family residences on an overblown scale may have opened the door for another large building type that proliferated in the western blocks of the survey area during the war years: the apartment house. The two earliest examples--"The Brooke" at No. 2215 in 1912 and "The Rosemary" one year later at No. 2828--suggest the range of mixed emotions about the proper attitude toward apartments (and renters) on Monument Avenue. The Brooke's high, wide proportions and Beaux Arts presentation were urbane, elegant, and very high-style, representing apartment life as a sophisticated alternative to home ownership. Renters could come home to a building every bit as grand as the avenue's finest private villas, for a fraction of the monthly cost and none of the responsibilities. The Rosemary, on the other hand, was designed to pass as a single-family residence. Its designer employed the facade of a standard avenue "type"--the three-story, flat-roofed Colonial Revival town house common to the 1800 block, for instance--to disguise the building's multi-unit function. This veneer of respectability implied that apartments were considered, by some, an inferior addition to the avenue, even a property value liability.

It is interesting, then, that apartment buildings dominate half the length of the avenue west of the Boulevard. From the 2800 to the 3000 block, bulky three-story buildings with stacked porches crowd the avenue's public space--precisely the sort of development the Allen and Branch deed restrictions prohibited. The Sheppards attached no controls whatsoever to the property they sold, a disengaged posture that left entire blocks to developers' discretion. The results were unusually diverse. The north side of the 3000 block is a wall of big apartment buildings, all built in 1927 but by different owners. One block west, lot owners on the north side of the 3100 block bound themselves in 1922 to a mutual agreement to adhere to a 30' building setback and restrict all construction to single-family residences. The completed block is an island of expensive mansions and town houses in picturesque revival styles typical of the 1920s. The combined effect of the deeper setback and extra-wide lots is a more suburban character than anything on the avenue up to this point, and certainly an exclusive air in relation to neighbors to the east. The

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[132]The tile roof of No. 2314 is a particularly eclectic conceit here, typical of the 1915 date of the house. Lee applied similar roofs at Nos. 1821 and 2307.

remainder of the north side of Monument up to Roseneath continues in much the same vein, if more modestly, but the south side is another story. The whole eastern half of the 3100 block is taken up by one building, the St. Francis, a large, eclectically stylish apartment block completed in 1924 and built without setbacks to maximize its triangular lot. The western half of the block is speculative development of nine detached "urban cottages" on eccentrically angled lots, all completed in 1928.

Figure 35 Harvey C. Brown constructed speculative housing on the south side of the 2200 block of Monument Avenue in the 1910s. Boucher, HABS.

Speculative housing was not new to the avenue; the first four town houses in the 1600 block, built in 1903, were the work of developer William J. Payne, and between 1910-18 developer Harvey C. Brown built twelve residences on the south side of the 2200 block, including the only row houses on Monument at Nos. 2217-2223. But the cottages on the south side of the 3100 block were unusual for their modest scale and the angle of their orientation to the avenue, both responses to land covenants of the Lee Annex Realty Corporation, drawn up in 1904 when Lee Annex Realty bought out the Roseneath Land Corporation, which originally subdivided this block in accordance with the Sydney grid. These covenants stipulated: (1) a minimum building cost of $2,500 (typical of middle- and working-class Sydney); (2) that no liquor could be sold from the premises, nor any business or trade conducted that might be deemed a nuisance or a threat to property values; (3) that no blacks could own or rent property in the development; (4) a 15' setback from the street; and (5) "that the layout of lots, as shown on said plat, shall be adhered to and no scheme of facing lots in any other direction shall be permitted."[133] The affordable size and superficial individuality of these cottages, designed by architect Carl Lindner with slightly varying floor plans and facades in a range of related styles, made them popular with older residents, young families, and people who otherwise could not afford a Monument Avenue address. More cottages on the south side of the 3200 block, built by the Davis Bros. construction firm, were also down-scaled and relatively affordable,

[133] Richmond Deed Book 194A:122.

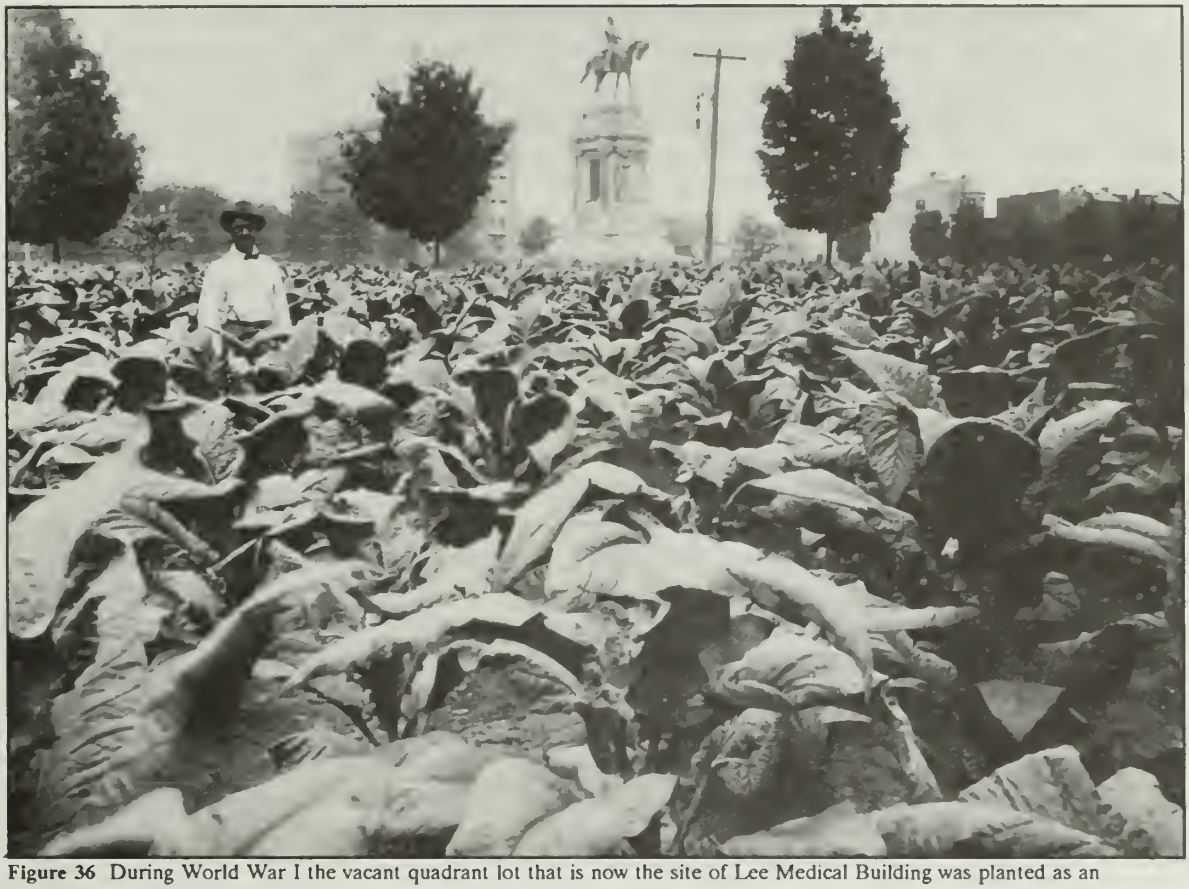

Figure 36 During World War I the vacant quadrant lot that is now the site of Lee Medical Building was planted as an exhibition garden of Virginia's No. 1 cash crop--tobacco. Virginia Historical Society.

but undistinguished; Davis Bros. built scores of such houses throughout the Fan District in the 1920s.

Residential construction in Richmond came to a virtual standstill during the depression of the 1930s. On Monument Avenue, a modest Tudor Revival residence in the 3300 block was built in 1936, but the only other construction going on in these years was the completion of projects slated or begun before the crash, including the First Baptist Church at 2715 Monument and the First Church of Christ Scientist at No. 2201, both in the Neoclassical style. Most of the churches, institutions and tall buildings on the avenue were clustered at its eastern end, and had transformed Stuart Circle over the years into a nearly enclosed space with a uniquely urban "feel" --a concentration of energetic institutional activity and circulating energy in contrast with the staid residential enclave beyond. For churches adjacent to the circle, a penchant for Gothic monumentality held sway from 1910, when First English Evangelical Lutheran was completed on the southwest quadrant lot, until the congregation of St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran Church decided upon the design for their new sanctuary in 1926. In 1911 the city of Richmond had offered the northeast quadrant lot to the Confederate Memorial Literary Society as the site for the Confederate battle abbey, but the Society preferred a larger, more regularly shaped lot, and eventually chose a site on the Boulevard next to the Confederate Soldiers' Home.

Further evidence of the problematic relationship between the monuments and development on the avenue is the uneven development of the quadrant lots, especially those related directly to the Lee Monument. Other than the house at No. 1643, built in 1910 or twenty years after the unveiling, which looks past the monument rather than at it and uses the central, focal quadrant lot as a side yard, the only residences oriented toward Lee are No. 1808, built by Allen heir Martha Wise Wilson in 1925, and No. 1800, completed in 1931, architect William L. Bottomley's last commission on the avenue and the last grand house in the survey area. The southwest quadrant was vacant until the Lee Medical Building was constructed in 1950-51; early photographs show this quadrant planted as an exhibition garden or tidily landscaped with a low clipped hedge, sort of the extended side yard of the house at 1811. The northeast quadrant was never built upon and is a parking lot for the Shenandoah Apartments (1906), now converted into an office building.[134]

Such haphazard development of the very lots that should be complementing the avenue's premier monument reflects Monument Avenue's origin as a collection of speculative real estate ventures. The avenue evolved piecemeal, in separate subdivisions developing in the wake of the deliberate placement of monuments. Initially the role of the city government was marginal and reactive, not prescriptive. As the avenue took shape and the first blocks filled in, however, the monumentum to extend it grew. Monument building proved to be good businesss (just as monument dedication proved to be wildly popular) and the city government eagerly jumped on the bandwagon, uniting with landowners and confederate memorial groups to turn the singular event of the Lee monument into a commemorative precinct.

Although the Lee Monument was not an instant spark for new construction--eleven years lapsed before the first house was built in the vicinity on the avenue, aside from developer Otway Allen's own residence--neighboring blocks filled in rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Stuart and Davis monuments, erected in 1907, saw new construction follow immediately, with their adjacent blocks built up to a large degree within a decade of their unveiling. Monument Avenue west of Boulevard, where the Jackson Monument was unveiled in 1919, developed almost entirely in the five years after that date, suggesting that the encouragement of residential construction was by then a greater impetus than commemorative symbolism.

Monument Avenue developed very differently than adjacent streets in the same subdivisions, suggesting that not just sale of lots was important, but sale of a certain kind of lot. The avenue's width, plantings, and monuments caused its lots to be sold at a premium, and attracted bigger and more expensive houses. As a result, the avenue developed more slowly than its neighboring streets, where speculators could afford to build rows of identical houses. Instead of speculators, Monument Avenue tended to attract people who lived in the houses they built, often for decades. Even Otway Allen and John Kerr Branch, owners of two of the largest parcels subdivided around Monument Avenue, built houses on the avenue as if they had created it to provide a suitable neighborhood for their aspirations. Owners of single lots, building one house to inhabit for their lifetimes, selected Monument Avenue because they too had aspirations.

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[134] It is ironic that this is the only quadrant here that is totally vacant, as the whole quadrant was marked "sold" on the 1901 Redd plat.

CHAPTER 2: THE PEOPLE

by Esme Howard

> There were, of course, many Virginians of the old order still living in Richmond. Here and there, one might discover an authentic antique among all the varnished reproductions scattered to the far end of Monument Avenue.[1]

Tucked away in her family home at 1 West Main St., writer Ellen Glasgow had a privileged spot from which to view the changes in Richmond's west end at the turn of the century. While most public discussion about Monument Avenue gloried in the promise of progress, Ellen Glasgow's wry social commentaries suggest the dubious perspective of one who belonged not to the up-and-coming world of fashionable prosperity, but rather to an older structure, one in which "certain imponderables were more precious than wealth." Even Glasgow realized, however, that in the changing times "imponderables might be respected, but possessions were envied."[2] The story of Monument Avenue is in many ways the story of people who turned their possessions outward onto the street, of an emerging class that used the architecture of a monumental boulevard to help define its values, its rituals, and its common ground. The need for such a display--of unity and of opulence--arose in part from the turbulence of the post-Reconstruction era in Richmond, during which wealth and power were consolidated in the hands of land traders and conservative politicians, store owners and professionals, immigrant Jews and old Virginia Protestants. Monument Avenue was a neighborhood in which residential life became wedded from the first not only to politics and speculation, but also to display and ritual. For the Richmonders who built their homes on the avenue, the monuments to Confederate war heroes served as a constant reminder of parades, of commemorations, of civic events that affirmed, again and again, the legitimacy of the enterprise.

THE FIRST DEVELOPERS

During the late nineteenth century, three families controlled most of the land on which Monument Avenue, from Stuart Circle to Roseneath Road, was eventually built. Along with the land speculators and first homeowners on the avenue, the Allen, Branch, and Sheppard families played a large part in determining the early character of the street, both architecturally and socially. Their politics, social standing, business interests, and individual quirks all helped shape the way Monument Avenue was laid out, who bought property, and what was built. Even before the Lee Monument was unveiled in 1890, newspapers were predicting that "Lee Circle will be in the very heart of the fashionable neighborhood of Richmond."[3] Land owners, particularly Otway Allen and developers such as Henry Wallerstein, tried to ensure the truth of such predictions, for Monument Avenue was to become their own neighborhood as well as a business venture.

The avenue divides roughly into three sections, corresponding to land owned by the three families, and to three waves of development. The original William C. Allen Addition, annexed by

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[1] Ellen Glasgow, The Woman Within (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954), 217-18.

[2] Glasgow, 217-18.

[3] "The Lee Monument. Rapid Progress Being Made with the Granite Pedestal. Horse and Rider. Mercie Hopes to Have Them Done Before the Year is Out.," Richmond Dispatch [ca. 1889]. Clipping in Monument Avenue file, Valentine Museum, Richmond.

the city in 1892, stretched from Lombardy to just beyond Allison; from Allison to the Boulevard, John P. Branch owned large parcels of land, which he sold through Kingsland Corporation after 1912; west of the Boulevard, much of the frontage on Monument Avenue belonged to John F. Sheppard's estate, and was not fully developed until the 1920s. William C. Allen's heirs, especially Otway Allen, were intimately involved with the development of Monument Avenue from the very beginning, and they had full control over the partitioning and selling of the first three blocks. John P. Branch and the Sheppard heirs, however, did not take up the whole of Otway Allen's civic vision, and the architectural disparities that developed above Allison reflect some of the distinctions between the three families, even as the integrity of the avenue suggests that its developers shared some basic attitudes toward the construction of an elite residential neighborhood.

The Allen Family

William C. Allen had amassed large parcels of land by 1860, including the fifty-eight acres that became the Allen Addition, by purchasing lots piecemeal throughout Richmond and just outside the city limits. From his humble beginning as a bricklayer's apprentice--a life "of incessant toil, coupled with much actual suffering"--William C. Allen became a successful contractor, and his land aquisitions west of the city limits left a substantial inheritance for his children. Obituaries suggest that Allen was neither a high-rolling land trader nor a particularly active socialite: "He was an upright, good man, unobtrusive, plain and diffident, whom wealth did not exalt" and "none of his wealth was the result of speculation." They also note that Allen "belonged strictly to that class of men who are the architects of a city," a role that his heirs adopted with their plans for the westward expansion of Franklin Street into Monument Avenue.[4]

Allen never subdivided or sold his land, treating it instead as an investment for his children, Otway Allen, Mary C. Sheppard, Bettie F. Gregory, and Martha A. Wise.[5] Apparently, his income as a contractor and builder was sufficient for his own needs, and Allen probably wanted to give his children the security that he had never enjoyed.[6] Unfortunately, Mary and her husband William Y. Sheppard had to mortgage their share of the property before the land was platted, but proceeds from the sale of lots in the Allen Addition seem to have guaranteed the prosperity of three of Allen's children. When Otway wrote his will in 1906, he left nothing to his sisters Bettie and Martha "because I consider that they are both amply provided for and any legacy to them would not be needed." To his sister Mary C. Sheppard and her children, he left two-thirds of his estate.[7]

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[4]William C. Allen obituaries, Richmond Daily Dispatch, September 8, 1874; Richmond Enquirer, September 8, 1874; Richmond Daily Whig, September 8, 1874.

[5]Mary's husband William Y. Sheppard apparently was no direct relation of the John F. Sheppard family.

[6]The reasons that William C. Allen never developed his land are not entirely clear: there is mention of the Allen "farm" in Henrico County, but no indication of any agricultural activities that took place there. Harry M. Ward, Richmond: An Illustrated History (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), 218.

[7]Will of Otway S. Allen, July 14, 1906, probated February 24, 1911, notes in private collection of Drew Carneal, Richmond.

Figure 37 View west on Monument Avenue from Stuart Circle. The Lee Monument is visible a block away, and in the distance, the Davis Monument. Virginia State Library and Archives.

Otway Allen was a generation removed from the working-class origins of his father, and began life with the advantages that his father's success provided; he and his family were able to establish themselves in the forefront of an emerging professional elite.[8] William C. Allen's children held on to their inheritance for several years after their father died in 1874, but by subdividing the land in the 1880s, they took on the role of suburban developers and town shapers. Otway changed his city directory designation from "farmer" to "capitalist" between 1888 and 1892, when he was involved in city affairs both as a businessman--during the 1880s, he had become a successful investor and started the commission merchant business of Allen & Shafer--and a politician. Allen cemented his ties to both state and city leaders with his gift of land to the Monument Association in 1890; from 1892 to 1904, and again in 1906, he served on the City Council Board of Aldermen, sitting on the powerful commissions on finance and streets. In 1901 he was a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in which blacks and poor whites were disfranchised, which helped to consolidate the power of a new middle-class with old-fashioned conservative politics. Otway Allen was also a fiscal conservative, a "watchdog of the treasury," who lost his city council position in 1904 to William T. Dabney, "the leading spokesman for progressive vision." Even though Allen was a key figure in Monument Avenue's creation, and

[8] One sign of Otway Allen's secure middle-class status was his philanthropic interest in the Virginia Mechanics Institute, which provided night-school vocational training for working adults. Otway left a third of his estate to the Institute should Mary C. Sheppard's children die without issue. Will of Otway S. Allen.

clearly advocated what was considered the height of "modern" residential development, he was tied politically to older ideals of non-interventionist government.[9]

Socially, Otway Allen moved in elite circles. He was a close friend of Governor Fitzhugh Lee, and vice president of the exclusive Westmoreland Club in the 1890s. Along with other prominent Richmonders, he belonged to the Commonwealth Club, the Deep Run Hunt Club, and the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, and he and his wife Mary McDonald Allen were listed in one of the city's earliest social directories in 1906. According to historian Brent Tarter he was "a handsome man, always well dressed and sporting a neat, pointed beard that made him look rather like the composer Tchaikovsky . . . the very image of a successful bourgeoise gentleman."[10]

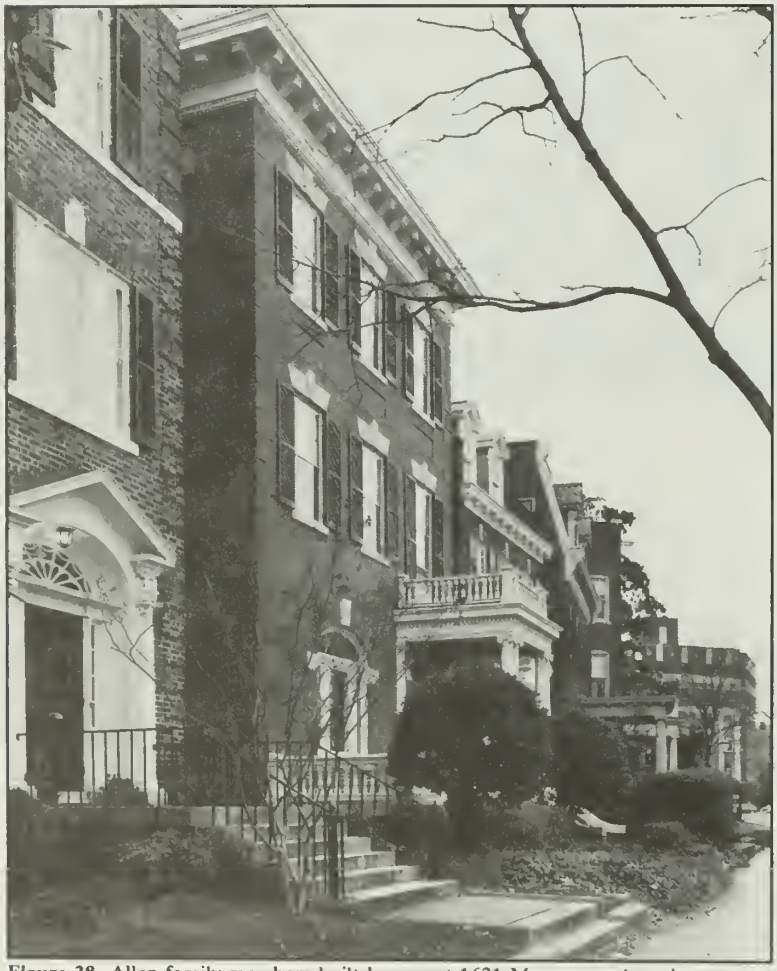

Figure 38 Allen family members built houses at 1631 Monument Ave., just seen on the left, and No. 1633, center. Boucher, HABS.

Otway Allen was 60 years old when construction began on his Monument Avenue house; apparently, the Allens lived in the Sixth Street home until then. Development was well underway on Monument by the time the Allens built there, with eight houses on the north side of the 1600 block, and a brand-new church on the south side. Clearly, Otway and Mary Allen were not setting up a new family in 1911; perhaps No. 1631 was to be a retirement home, far from the hubbub of downtown traffic but still tied to urban high society. But although the elite tone of Monument Avenue had already been set by the time the Allens planned a house there, its style suggests that they built a house that would stand as an example of the development they hoped to encourage all along the avenue.[11] John Kevan Peebles, later the

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[9]Christopher Silver, Twentieth-Century Richmond: Planning, Politics and Race (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 50; Brent Tarter, "Otway S. Allen: His Gift of Land Changed Richmond Forever," The Richmond Quarterly 12, no. 4 (Spring 1990); 13, no. 1 (Summer 1990); 13, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 33; Richmond City Directories.

[10]Jay Killian Bowman Williams, Changed Views and Unforeseen Prosperity: Richmond of 1890 Gets a Monument (Richmond: privately printed, 1969), 36; Tarter, 33-34.

[11]See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Allen covenants, which more explicitly defined the potential character of the avenue.

architect for Grace Covenant Church just east of the Allen home, designed No. 1631 as a modern, cosmopolitan example of a high-style townhouse, with an elegant three-story rounded bay and unusually colorful brickwork (fig. 38). The house seems to have been a mark of achievement, the physical documentation of a life well lived--much as Otway's father's house on North Sixth Street had been a generation earlier.[12]

When Otway Allen died in February 1911, his house at 1631 Monument was still under construction. While Otway Allen never lived on the avenue he was so instrumental in creating, his wife Mary McDonald Allen and sister-in-law Jennie McDonald Wellford became long-term residents, living next to each other at Nos. 1631 and 1633. Jennie McDonald Wellford was in her late 40s when she and her husband B. Randolph Wellford built No. 1633, and after he died, she moved in with her sister at No. 1631 and let her son and his new family use the house next door. An active social life apparently revolved around the two houses, and in their later years, along with Grace Myers (whose daughter married one of the Wellfords' sons) the McDonald sisters were known in the neigborhood as the "galloping grandmothers," a group of society ladies who gathered regularly for tea.[13] Grace and her husband E. D. T. Myers lived in the eminently respectable 500 block of West Franklin; Mary C. Sheppard, Otway's sister, lived just around the corner from the McDonald clan on Allen Avenue. Martha Allen Wise and her husband also built on the avenue at No. 1808, just west of the Lee Monument. Their home, a substantial Georgian Revival residence, was not built until 1926, and reflects a shift away from the emphasis on upright town houses that characterizes earlier development on the 1600 block. Familial ties between Monument Avenue homeowners were common throughout the early years: in the McDonald-Allen family, the connections suggest that Monument Avenue was for them a neighborhood tied to the established West Franklin society as much as it was a real estate venture.

The Branch Family

Like the Allens, the Branch family both traded and built on Monument Avenue land. The Branch name is perhaps more familiar because of the extravagant "Branch Castle" at No. 2501, which bears an entirely different relationship to Monument Avenue than the Allen house at No. 1631, although it was built only a few years later. John P. Branch's son John Kerr and his wife Beulah built the mansion in 1917 after their children had left home; they moved to No. 2501 from the Branch family home at 1 West Franklin. John Russell Pope, the most renowned architect to build on the avenue, designed the Branch House as a showcase, a building that called out for attention and perhaps for envy, but not for the kind of emulation that No. 1631 seemed to anticipate.

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[12]Brent Tarter (p. 33) writes that "The home he built at 17 North Sixth Street was a spacious and tasteful example of antebellum residential architecture and bespoke substantial business success and social respectability." Monument Avenue residents, a generation later, were even more concerned about style and presentation, and the act of building a home seems to have served a similar purpose of announcing one's accomplishments in other arenas.

[13]Mary McDonald Allen, Otway's widow, is listed in the 1912 Richmond City Directory. According to McDonald Wellford, the Allens' great-nephew, Otway Allen died after construction was underway. McDonald Wellford, interview by author, Richmond, August 7, 1991.

Figure 39 John Kerr Branch commissioned John Russell Pope to design this house at 2501 Monument Ave. Boucher, HABS.

While John P. Branch never made his home on the avenue, younger generations of the family used the profits from Thomas Branch & Co., the investment and banking firm over which he presided, to add to the grandeur of the avenue. Robert Gamble Cabell, John P.'s nephew and novelist James Branch Cabell's brother, hired New York architect William Lawrence Bottomley to design a house at 2601 Monument in 1924 at an estimated cost of $33,000. The design, like that of the Branch House, was based on Mompesson, an elegant English manor, and helped define the character of the 2600 block. Together, the grand 2300 and 2600 blocks form a sort of architectural entourage for the Branch House with a series of monumental residences.

Money to build the Branch House came from more than fifty years of successful ventures in investments and banking by John Kerr's antecedents, and the story of Branch business interests neatly coincides with the development in Richmond of a banking industry out of a mercantile economy at the end of the nineteenth century. The Branch family also provides a good example of the ways in which wealth operated within a family business over three generations at the turn of the century.

Thomas C. Branch, John Kerr's grandfather, first went into the commercial merchant business in Petersburg with his elder brother in 1836. After that business failed in 1848, Thomas continued alone, forming two more commercial merchant partnerships (with his sons and other relatives) before the Civil War. His first venture into banking was during the war, when he formed Branch, Morton & Company "for the purpose of conducting a general business in stocks and money." After that succumbed to the devastation following the war in 1865, Branch's sons James Read and John P. formed Thomas Branch and Company in Richmond, a company that prospered through the next eighty years. In 1871 Thomas Branch founded the Merchants National Bank "to enlarge the scope of his thriving financial enterprises," and in 1872 the sons,

along with their brother-in-law Frederick Robert Scott, bought out Thomas Branch's interest in his various businesses. It was John P. Branch who, by all accounts, was the driving force behind the development of Thomas Branch and Company into one of the most powerful banking firms in the South.[14]

While Thomas Branch, the family patriarch, laid the foundations for his sons' success by capitalizing on the drive to rebuild the New South after the war, it was John P. Branch who moved the business definitively into a modern urban establishment.[15] According to one biographer, he was "recognized as a leader of the agitation in his city for good streets, good sewerage and drainage, pure food, and all other things looking to the betterment of public health." Branch was involved in the reorganization of the board of public health, and donated two public baths to the city. John P. Branch had the "very best educational advantages," although he never went to college. Instead, John P. entered his father's business as a clerk at age 18, and "studied books on commercial subjects." His civic-minded endeavors included, along with the baths, "numerous articles on finance, written primarily for the purpose of instructing the public in things vital to commercial welfare and business development and progress."[16] The question of one man's "modernity" is not easy to unravel, but a comparison of two biographical sketches, one of Branch and the other of his contemporary Joseph Bryan, suggests that John P. Branch belonged to a new breed of Southern gentleman.

Joseph Bryan was born fifteen years after John P. Branch, but William Gordon McCabe's description of him evokes an earlier ideal: "the very highest type of the country-gentleman of his time--of aristocratic lineage . . . of courtly manners--a fine classical scholar, who to the day of his death could read, if not his 'Plato,' certainly his Livy and Horace 'with his feet on the fender,' as Emerson neatly puts it--a keen sportsman, a devoted churchman, a kind neighbor, and the very soul of hospitality." Bryan's highest ambition, according to McCabe, was "to live and die as becomes a Virginia gentleman," and although he "was never in public life, as the term is commonly understood . . . Yet he was reckoned the first citizen not only of Richmond, but of the whole Commonwealth." Bryan, unlike the Branches, lived out of town on his country estate at Laburnum.[17]

John P. Branch, though "an old friend" of the same author, was granted quite a different set of virtues. He had "an immense capacity for mastering the details of any subject," wrote McCabe, and "some of us . . . would sometimes laughingly say to him that his inquisitiveness was as great as his acquisitiveness." McCabe implies a judicious business sense even in Branch's

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[14]Thomas Branch and Brother were also auctioneers, selling estates, personal property, and slaves. Thomas Branch and Sons in Petersburg dealt in wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco; Thomas Branch and Company in Richmond specialized in produce. "Branch & Company Records 1837-1976 Description Guide," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. See also Charlene Alling, "'A Felt Presence and Power in Society': The Business Records of Thomas Branch and Family," in the Virginia Historical Society Occasional Bulletin (December 1984): 1-5.

[15]Thomas C. Branch had ties to the "Old South" as well, for he had gained political power even before the war, when he was sheriff and mayor of Petersburg and a member of the Virginia Secession convention.

[16]Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., Men of Mark in Virginia (Washington, D.C.: Men of Mark Publishing Co., 1907), 2:46-47.

[17]W. Gordon McCabe, "Joseph Bryan: A Brief Memoir," reprinted from the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 17, no. 4 (April 1909): i-xxix.

philanthropic ventures, as "Oftener than not, he was weighing in his mind whether some plausible appeal made to his generosity was really a deserving one."[18] Born a generation earlier than Otway Allen, Branch also combined the roles of civic leader and businessman; like Allen, he used his land as a profitable commodity. Also like Allen, however, he had a complex attitude toward the role of government in the affairs of the city. Despite his "agitation . . . for good streets" (an imperative for a land developer), Branch too dug in his heels in the face of the pro-active government forces of the Progressive movement in city politics when they seemed inimical to his own business interests. In 1910, for example, Branch argued against the proposal to consolidate with neighboring Manchester--a working-class, industrial town badly in need of city services--saying "the city of Richmond is spending too much money anyway. It is living extravagantly."[19]

Branch would have done well to speak with his son, John Kerr Branch, about "living extravagantly." By the time John Kerr Branch came of age in the 1890s, the family fortune was available to spend. His father had initiated a lifestyle that John K. and his wife, Beulah, would expand upon with a seemingly limitless income. While John P. and Mary Louisa Branch often travelled to Europe on business and "for health," John K. and Beulah Branch went every spring. They spent four months of the year in each of their three homes, on Monument Avenue, on a farm estate in Pawling, New York, and at their villa in Florence, Italy. Beulah's receipts from antique stores in Europe suggest that she bought entire roomfuls at once, collecting everything from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from a priest's cossack to an inlaid throne. Before they built 2501 Monument Ave., John and Beulah's antiques were stored above the garage behind the family home at 1 W. Franklin, until the building overflowed.[20]

Family to the Branches was an important business connection, and several of John P.'s relatives were also his employees.[21] When Branch deeded his land to subsidiary real estate companies, he appointed his sons and nephews as officers. When he died, his heirs took over the various businesses he had founded, bringing with them the next generation of Branch sons. All of the Branches who lived on Monument Avenue except writer James Branch Cabell--including John K., Robert Gamble Cabell, and Melville C. Branch--were involved at some point in Thomas Branch and Co.

But while the family business seems to have offered a secure income, it did not guarantee a life of leisurely consumption, and not all of the Branches could afford John and Beulah's standard of living. Melville C. Branch, for instance, apparently worked long hours for the business, and his wife repeatedly reminded him that he needed a vacation (which would be spent

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[18]W. Gordon McCabe, memoir of John P. Branch in "Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society at its Annual Meeting Held in the House of the Society on March 20, 1916," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 24, no. 1 (January 1916): xxxiii-xxxvi.

[19]Silver, 67-68, citing the Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 16, February 2, 1910.

[20]Beulah G. Branch Records, Branch & Company Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Mary Louisa Merritt Branch obituary, Richmond Christian Advocate, March 11, 1897, 4; Zayde Branch Reynolds, interview by Juanita Parry, Tape recording, Richmond, ca. 1980.

[21]When John P. Branch's nephew Melville Campbell Branch was only 16 years old, he wrote to his uncle John P. Branch, stating "I am very desirous of securing a position in Richmond, and ask you to kindly use your influence on my behalf." Three years later, in 1894, Melville joined the company, and in 1906 he became a partner. Melville had grown up on his father's struggling farm in Georgia. Melville C. Branch to John P. Branch, April 19, 1891, Melville C. Branch Records, Branch & Co. Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

Figure 40 John Kerr Branch's cousin, Robert Gamble Cabell, built the house at 2601 Monument Ave., designed by William Lawrence Bottomley. Boucher, HABS.

at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, rather than Italy). While Beulah Branch was busy acquiring crateloads of antiques, Martha P. Branch, while on holiday at the springs, wrote to her husband that she "drew a draft for $1,000 yesterday which certainly seems dreadful . . . [but] be assured that I am really trying hard to be careful." White Sulphur Springs was a posh resort, but the tone of Martha's letters is a reminder that the couple was only one generation removed from a struggling farmer.[22]

For family members who had no interest in the business, the disparity of wealth could be even greater; for Melville C.'s father, Melville Irby Branch, the family connection seems to have been a troubled one. Melville I. Branch was not a businessman but a farmer, and apparently not a beneficiary of the family fortune. During the 1880s and 1890s, Melville I. and his wife, Susan

[22]Thomas Branch and Company papers, Virginia Historical Society, Melville C. Branch correspondence.

Steiner Branch, struggled with their farm in Berzelia, Georgia, and wrote to "Brother John" asking for loans that were not automatically forthcoming.[23]

Apparently, it was the *business* component of the family business that Branch prized most, and at which he excelled. As he steered Thomas Branch and Company into banking, John P. also organized several subsidiary real estate corporations--including the Kingsland Land Corporation--and personally acquired a considerable amount of land in the West End.[24] Unlike the Allen property, however, Branch's was a less methodical estate--his granddaughter remembered that he "loved having land," and would buy anything a friend recommended--and rarely subdivided it as the Allen heirs did.[25] Branch acquired his land in bits and pieces during the 1880s, and sold lots of varying dimensions, apparently at the customer's choice when the price was right. One of the results of Branch's pattern of buying and selling was that the houses built on much of his property became individual expressions of wealth and success, rather than the connected pieces of a neighborhood that make up the fabric of the first three blocks.

John P. Branch presided over the family's first generation of extreme wealth, the "golden key" that allowed them to move in Richmond's finest social circles.[26] But while the Branches were one of the most powerful banking families in Richmond, some question seems to have remained among the old guard about the social qualifications of a family that had made its money so unabashedly in the marketplace. However, the transition from nouveau riche to old money was fairly rapid after the Civil War (that much of the gentry class had lost everything in the war was an impetus, no doubt, for the acceptance of a new monied elite) and families such as the Branches were sometimes able to create their own histories. In 1907, the novelist James Branch Cabell published Branchiana, a genealogical history of the family commissioned by his great-uncle,

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[23]The letters, most of them written by Susan Steiner Branch, document a heartwrenching tale of incompetence and recurring debt. In 1884 the farm lost $500 worth of corn and peas, "a loss which I can ill afford to stand," and she thanked her brother for a box of clothing he had sent. Ten years later, facing a potential lawsuit, she turned again to John P. only as a last resort, begging for a loan of $2,500. After he sent $2,315, she wrote, "We had hoped to get $2,500, but will manage to get along on the amount you have agreed to let us have, and for which I feel most grateful."

Apparently, Susan was primarily responsible for financial management of the farm, although she seems to have been at the mercy of her husband's expenses. In her appeal for a loan she stated, "As far as I am individually concerned I do not owe a cent in the world, as I have strictly adhered to the principle of 'pay as you go[']' or done without, for the past fifteen years," and "I was most bitterly opposed to farming from the very beginning, but yielded to what I then believed to be the better judgement of others."

Melville's ways of keeping up family relationships seem to have been on a different order than those of his brother John. On at least two occasions, for instance, he sent Berzelia watermelons to family members at their vacation homes, a mark, perhaps, of his pride in a farm that bore fruit if not profit. Thomas Branch and Company Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[24]"Kingsland" was the name of one of Christopher Branch's colonial plantations in Henrico County, and the name, like the English Manor style of the Branch House, seems a rather self-conscious claim to gentry status, as well as an oblique reference to regal connections in Old England.

[25]Zayde Branch Rennolds, interview.

[26]According to Ellen Glasgow, "there was only one key to unlock modern Richmond, and that key was golden. Anybody from anywhere who could afford to give a larger party became automatically, as it were, a 'social leader.'" Glasgow, The Woman Within, 217.

John P. Branch's treatment of his brother Melville may have been a way of distancing himself and his business from an unsuccessful, old-fashioned farmer as he was in the process of defining himself as part of a new urban elite.

John P. Branch.[27] The significance of Branchiana lies less in its content--Cabell managed to dig up an ancestral tobacco farmer who came to Virginia in 1619 and owned two plantations in Henrico County--than in its very existence. Writing its own past was one way of claiming the family's rightful place in Virginia society, of, in effect, turning new money into old citizenship.[28]

The Sheppard Family

Much of the land that John P. Branch acquired on Monument Avenue had originally belonged to John F. Sheppard, although there do not seem to be any direct transactions or other connections between the two. After the Civil War, Dr. Nicholas C. Sheppard and his brother John F. Sheppard purchased more than eighty acres of land in what was then Henrico County, stretching from today's Park Avenue to Broad Street and from Roseneath Road east as far as Meadow Street.[29] But while the Sheppard family sold off parcels of land east of the Boulevard before the turn of the century, they retained ownership of a large estate to the west as farmland until the westward expansion of the city led them to subdivide and sell lots, first in 1889 to just past Sheppard Street and then again, farther west, in 1916 and 1921.

Unlike the Allens and the Branches, the Sheppards' involvement in the life of Monument Avenue is somewhat elusive. While the family came from Virginia, the nature of their ties to Richmond is unclear. John F. Sheppard travelled extensively during the 1850s, and was in New York City during the Civil War, unable to return south.[30] Nicholas C. Sheppard returned to Virginia after attending medical school at the University of Pennsylvania; in 1870 he was 36 years old, living in Henrico County with his wife and four young children, and working as a farmer.[31]

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[27]Cabell, a biting critic of Richmond society, compiled a clever and not entirely straightforward genealogy. He discovered not a colonial version of his great-uncle, but rather:

> The Branches of Virginia trace back an established lineage to not a single Scandinavian pirate, and no lineage at all to any lady who, in her be-sonneted heyday, was proven very compassionate to the pangs of amorous royalty. Shuffle it over as you may, the authentic forebearer of this family was merely an honest and God-fearing yeoman.

James Branch Cabell, Branchiana; being a partial account of the Branch family in Virginia (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, [ca. 1907]), 9.

[28]Edgar E. MacDonald, in "Glasgow, Cabell, and Richmond," Ellen Glasgow: Centennial Essays, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 29, describes the social distinctions made between "the old families" (landed gentry), "the old citizens" (yeoman farmers), and "the old merchants" (primarily Jewish shopkeepers)--three classes that were united in their colonial ancestry--and anyone "new," who was automatically suspect. The Branch family apparently fell into the latter category, for MacDonald quotes a "self-appointed social arbiter" from the 1950s describing Margaret Elizabeth Branch (John P. Branch's daughter, who married Ellen Glasgow's brother Arthur) as "a charming lady from one of these 'golden key' families." (Helena LeFroy Caperton, "Ellen Glasgow's 'Honest' Autobiography," Richmond Times-Dispatch, Oct. 31, 1954.) MacDonald suggests that genealogical research, along with judicious marriages, was a means of improving one's social standing.

[29]Robert Sheppard, interview by author, Richmond, August 17, 1991. It seems unlikely that the Sheppard property ever extended to Meadow Street, as none of the deed searches on houses between Meadow and Allison mention any Sheppard owners.

[30]John F. Sheppard to Nicholas C. Sheppard, April 14, 1865; John F. Sheppard to Dr. Thomas Massie, 1851-1854, Massie Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Sheppard's addresses in Virginia included Bath County and Rockridge Slum Springs; he also travelled to Cleveland, Baltimore, and New York. John F. Sheppard sent greenbacks to his brother four days after Lee surrendered. What John F. was doing in New York remains unclear; according to Robert Sheppard he was a doctor in the Confederate Army.

[31]1870 Census, Henrico County.

Of the two brothers, only Nicholas was listed in the Richmond city directories between 1850 and 1880, and then only for one year, 1866, when he was living on Grove Street in "Sidney" and working as a broker in partnership with Edward Cohen. By 1869 Cohen was working alone, and Sheppard disappeared from the directories, reappearing in 1902 with his son, John F., at the family home on Roseneath Road south of Broad and west of Crenshaw. According to Robert Sheppard, one of Nicholas C. Sheppard's descendants, the house stood on Roseneath where Grace Street now intersects, and was torn down in the 1920s when Grace was extended west.[32]

The elder John F. Sheppard, according to Robert Sheppard, was "associated with the robber barons" and made his money on Wall Street, returning to Virginia after the war and buying up land. Through a number of transactions beginning in 1870, Sheppard put together a large estate in the West End. He went into real estate speculation with railroad magnate James Dooley; together they bought a large parcel fronting the north side of Monument Avenue. Both John and Nicholas C. Sheppard were involved in the purchase of the land, but John apparently managed the finances (as "he knew his brother was a very poor businessman"[33]) and held title to the property: at his death he willed it to Nicholas's three children, though his brother was still alive.

Despite their real estate interests in Richmond and the house on Roseneath, the Sheppards apparently were never a collective presence in the city. John Sheppard was buried in the family cemetery near Sheppards, Buckingham County--a small crossroads community that came to be associated with the family--where he had purchased a house before the Civil War for his sister Mary Sheppard Jones.[34]

The generation that inherited and eventually subdivided John F. Sheppard's property--Nicholas Sheppard's children John F., May Juliana (also known as Julia May or Julia Anna), and Marie (or Mary) L. Sheppard Parsons--seem to have played a minor part in the political or social life of Richmond. None of the standard Richmond histories mentions the Sheppards, and only a handful of manuscripts relating to the family have been saved at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Until the annexation of 1906 the family farm was outside the city limits, and both John F., Jr., and May J. Sheppard lived most of their lives in the home on Roseneath. Neither ever married, and when the house was condemned in the 1920s to permit the extension of Grace Street, the two moved to an apartment on Kensington Street. Their sister Marie married T. A. Parsons, a bicycle dealer, but after they were "more or less separated," her brother John took care of her financially. After World War I, Marie Parsons used her portion of the land inherited from her uncle as collateral to develop apartments on the Boulevard, but she lost everything in the Depression.[35]

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[32]Robert Sheppard, interview; Richmond City Directories.

[33]Robert Sheppard, interview.

[34]Robert Sheppard, interview. The family's association with Buckingham County is also unclear; they are not listed in the 1850 Census. No definitive references to the Sheppard family have been located, in either Richmond or Buckingham County.

[35]Robert Sheppard, interview.

Unlike most of the people involved in the development of Monument Avenue, the Sheppards were neither Protestant nor Jewish: Nicholas C. Sheppard converted to Catholicism after he married a Catholic woman from a wealthy Baltimore family, and they raised their three children as Catholics.[36] Julia Sheppard helped found a woman's club at Sacred Heart Cathedral, and when she died, she left part of her estate to the bishop of Richmond directing that a Catholic hospital be built with the money.[37] Interestingly, the neighborhood west of the Boulevard has long had Catholic ties; in 1910 St. Mary's Church relocated to the West End and built the Benedictine High School on Sheppard Street.[38]

But while the Sheppards may have had religious connections to their neighborhood, their ties to Monument Avenue seem to have been less intimate than those of either the Allen or the Branch family. The Sheppards never built on Monument Avenue, and their somewhat haphazard subdivision of the land west of the Boulevard suggests that they were less concerned with the integrity of the avenue as a whole. The built environment of the avenue reflects that change in attitude. The lots on the southwest corner of Boulevard and Monument, for instance, are the only ones at this intersection to front on Boulevard rather than Monument, thereby breaking the continuity of facades that had developed up to that point. The first block west of Boulevard is comprised almost entirely of apartment buildings, and the other blocks up to Roseneath reflect a variety of housing types not found on the avenue's eastern section, including small cottages, infill from the 1950s-60s, and houses that approach a middle-class suburban ideal. Although the Sheppards cooperated with the city's plan to straighten and extend Monument, they do not seem to have contributed a vision comparable to either Otway Allen's programmatic approach to creating a neighborhood or the self-conscious display of wealth that the Branch family provided. Rather than taking the initiative to move the city westward, the Sheppards subdivided only when expansion had become inevitable.

Early Speculators

Just as the initial landowners on Monument shaped the development of the street, so did those speculators who bought, sold, and in many cases built on the avenue. From 1887--when the site for the Lee Monument was announced and Monument Avenue was proposed as an elite residential development--until well into the 1910s, land speculation was big business along the avenue. Although speculators had little to do with the initial division of land on Monument, they both reflected and encouraged the fashionable nature of the neighborhood, especially when they made their homes there. Rarely did someone buy a lot as a long-term investment, on which to

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[36]One reason that the family never seems to have participated fully in the social life of the Richmond elite may have been their religion. Neither the Sheppards nor the Parsons were listed in the 1906 or the 1924 Social Directory. Not listed either were two other successful Catholic families associated with Monument Avenue, the Sitterdings and the Sorgs. No evidence suggests that the Sheppards were pariahs in Richmond high society; it is the lack of evidence which suggests that despite their real estate holdings, the family was not deeply involved in the social life of the avenue.

[37]According to Robert Sheppard (interview), the estate was worth very little in the 1930s, when the church sold the land, and they were able only to buy a lot in the west end. The hospital was never built, and when the land was sold in the 1940s the money went to St. Mary's.

[38]Juanita Parry, interview by author, August 1991, Richmond; Ulrich Troubetzkoy, Richmond: City of Churches (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1957), 29.

Figure 41 John S. Harwood, owner of a paint and oil business, built the house at 2000 Monument Ave. in 1902. Boucher, HABS.

build a home in the distant future; rather, homeowners usually built within a year or two of purchasing the property, after it had already changed hands several times. Some speculators bought only a single lot on Monument, while others--including eager realtors, wealthy merchants, and hopeful contractors--dealt in hundreds of frontage feet at a time.

Three of the heaviest traders were the Harwood brothers and Henry S. Wallerstein, all of whom built their houses on Monument Avenue. John S. Harwood was one of avenue's earliest residents, by 1902 building a home at 2000 Monument (then West Franklin) in the Colonial Revival style with a sweeping front porch. By 1910, his brother Richard Henry Harwood followed with a much more sophisticated Colonial Revival house one block up at No. 2200. Both the Harwood brothers moved to Monument from addresses in the lower Fan District: John S. lived at 1009 Floyd, and R. Henry lived first at 1003 West Grace and then in the Chesterfield on West Franklin. John S. and Richard Henry Harwood were not primarily realtors, but rather proprietors of one of the largest paint and oil stores in the South, with more than twenty-five employees and more than 11,200 square feet of retail space. Harwood Bros. was incorporated in 1913, but they were a successful business as early as the 1890s.[39] Like many speculators of the period, the Harwoods were involved in more than one line of work; another shared enterprise was the Chesterfield Land and Coal Company.[40] Apparently they used their business profits to trade in real estate as a sideline, making lucrative investments in land that would become their own neighborhood.

Henry S. Wallerstein was one of the city's most active land traders, as evidenced by his listings in the deed indexes from 1887 to 1940, which include more than ninety-four pages of

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[39]Clarence E. Weaver, comp., Sketches of Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A.: Who's Who and What's What (Richmond: Central Publishing Co., Inc., 1924).

[40]R. Henry was the secretary-treasurer of the Chesterfield Land & Coal; John S. Harwood was second vice president. 1916 Richmond City Directory.

transactions. Many of these were on Monument Avenue. Wallerstein, like the Harwood brothers, did some business in conjunction with family members, buying land in partnership with his housemate and brother-in-law Leo E. Ullman. His principal business concern was S. Ullman's Son, Inc., wholesale grocers, of which he was president; he was also vice president of Richmond Building Corporation.[41] In 1900 Wallerstein lived in prestigious Gamble's Hill on South Third Street; according to Mary Wingfield Scott, the neighborhood "reached its social apogée when it was old, in the 1890s and early 1900s" but by 1910 "the families which gave its special flavor to the neighborhood began to move with the automobile to the suburbs."[42] Wallerstein built on Monument Avenue around 1915, when he was nearly 50 years old. His house at No. 2312 was erected two years before the Branch House, and is one of the most ostentatious on the block: a Tudor Revival extravaganza reminiscent more of collegiate architecture than residential. Wallerstein made his money in the emerging world of real estate speculation; he spent it to establish an enduring presence on the city's most fashionable boulevard. Morton G. Thalhimer, another realtor and a relative of Wallerstein's by marriage, recalled in 1972, "It was a different sort of real estate business then . . . Many people didn't have the education or the money to study law or medicine or to open their own store. But with very little money they could go into the real estate business."[43] Despite the different roles that real estate played in the life of Wallerstein and the Harwood brothers, and their different visions of what form an exemplary Monument Avenue residence might take, all shared a vested interest in the developing character of Monument Avenue. As realtors, they could exert a certain amount of control within the marketplace, insofar as they could dictate with each piece of property the location, the price, the covenants, and the potential buyer.

Harvey C. Brown represents another kind of land trader active on the avenue: the speculative builder. Brown was active throughout the Fan District; on Monument he built most of the south side of the 2200 block. Rather than profiting through the sale of empty lots, Brown acquired a large amount of frontage and then built on it, appealing to a class of clients who could not afford to commission houses for themselves. Brown, like Wallerstein, lived in Gamble's Hill until 1910; for a short period, he seems to have operated the family harness and saddlery shop from his home at 621 E. Main.[44] During the next decade, he lived at various addresses in the 2200 block, apparently occupying whichever house was built but not yet sold. Living on the avenue for Brown seems to have been primarily an economic decision, and stands in sharp contrast to the kind of aesthetic statement that men like Wallerstein made. Brown's row houses on the 2200 block, although eminently respectable, do not stand out as high-style architecture unique to Monument Avenue. Rather, they are similar to much of the speculative housing that was built throughout the Fan District during the 1910s and 1920s, and anticipate later developmental trends on Monument west of the Boulevard: the Davis Brothers, for instance, built catalogue "cottages" on the south side of the 3200 block. Many of the people responsible for developing land west of the Boulevard did not have close ties to the avenue; the Davis brothers

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[41] 1915 Richmond City Directory.

[42] 1900 Census, Richmond; Mary Wingfield Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods (Richmond: privately printed, 1950; repr., Valentine Museum, 1975, 1984), 195.

[43] "'Dean' Recalls," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 21, 1972.

[44] Building Permits for Harvey C. Brown; Richmond City Directories, various dates. Brown is listed in 1909 at "D. A. Brown's son" on 621 E. Main.

lived out in the counties, for example, and the company that built the Lord Fairfax Apartments was based in Norfolk, Virginia.

Speculative builders in the late 1910s-20s profited from the status that Monument Avenue had already acquired, but it was land traders such as the Harwoods and Wallerstein who set the tenor of the avenue. Their presence on Monument--along with many other contractors and people involved in the building industries--suggests that they were investing in some of the less tangible aspects of the neighborhood, in what today would be called "lifestyle," as much as in the property itself.[45]

LIFE ON THE AVENUE IN THE FIRST DECADES

By 1910, the character of the young thoroughfare had been set, and already Monument Avenue served as a civic space for both formal and informal events. In fact, the public tone had been established long before the street was developed, and even before the Lee Monument was erected. The Richmond Dispatch remarked in 1889 that "many of our citizens are daily visiting the site and commenting upon the structure and the design of the monument," and after 1890, families made a habit of visiting the statue as a weekend excursion.[46] During the decade between Lee's unveiling and the first houses on the avenue, the grounds were already established as a center of socializing. The road itself, paved to Strawberry Street (then Addison) by 1910, became the showcase for the new automobiles introduced to Richmond only a few years earlier, and which included "garish Andersons," "shiny black Fords," and "stately electrics, glassed in cubes of silent dignity, driven by well-groomed ladies on their rounds of social life."[47] By the end of the next decade, public displays of social status along with rituals of celebration revolved around the wide green median that stretched westward from Stuart Circle up the avenue. Ellen Glasgow emphasized the modernity of the avenue's showcase status with an implicit comparison between Monument and an older aesthetic, put forth by one of the characters in Life and Gabriella:

> Oh, there are flowers enough. You just wait till you get on a bit. We've got urns filled with hydrangeas, that queer new sort between blue and pink. But what do you want with shrubs? All they're good for is to get in your way whenever you want to look out into the street. Mrs. Madison was telling me only yesterday that she cut down the lilac bushes in her front yard because they kept her from recognizing the people in motor cars.[48]

Although there were houses as far out as Mulberry Street by 1910, none of the southern side of the 2300 block had been built, and the remnants there of the earthworks of Battery No. 10 became the site for "interminable games of cops-and-robbers, cowboys-and-Indians, Yanks-and-Rebels." Children played baseball in the empty lots and rollerskated in the alleys, claiming space

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[45]Lumber business partners Bayard H. Ellington at 1817 and C. R. Guy at 1834, for example.

[46]"The Lee Monument," Richmond Dispatch.

[47]Edith Lindeman, "Monument Avenue: Richmond's State of Mind, Shaded by Habit, Memories," [Richmond Times-Dispatch?], Oct. 5, 1969, clipping in Monument Avenue vertical file, Valentine Museum, Richmond. Lindeman was a journalist with strong ties to the avenue; she went to the Collegiate School for Girls and married Rabbi Edward Calisch's son.

[48]Ellen Glasgow, Life and Gabriella (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916), 506.

Figure 42 A group of veterans from the Soldiers' Home poses next to the earthwork remains of Battery No. 10 in the 2300 block of Monument Avenue, just east of the Davis Monument, ca. 1910. Valentine Museum.

n the avenue as their own. Nurses and their charges gathered daily on the grass plot, and were rotected there by the "grass cop," who shooed away older, less disciplined children. The grass ot, throughout the years, was the site of innumerable commemorations and organized events; om the first years of the avenue, it encouraged activity in the very middle of the street and arked it as a civic space, an important aspect of the avenue as an arena for public ritual.[49]

In 1907, the J. E. B. Stuart and Jefferson Davis monument unveilings occasioned a assive celebration and Confederate reunion, and cemented the exclusive focus of the avenue on eroes of the Lost Cause. Over the years, Monument Avenue became the civic space in which vents of national importance were memorialized. Children remembered for years that they had elped pull the Jefferson Davis statue; people of all ages remembered the parades they had atched from their windows and porches over the years, for World War I heroes, for Commander

[49]Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 286; Lindeman, "Richmond's State of d."

Byrd in 1926, for Charles Lindbergh in 1927, for Winston Churchill and General Eisenhower after World War II, for the Queen Mother in 1954.[50]

Every Easter, the parade was recast as an explicitly social event, in the disguise of a religious holiday:

> By Tuesday night few could remember the subject of the sermon, but it was a week before conversation ceased about who looked simply stunning in the Easter parade, who was overdressed, which two girls were wearing the same dress and which one looked better in it; whose skirt was much too short, who was suspected of wearing lipstick and what's the world coming to![51]

Even during everyday life, Monument Avenue became "the principal thoroughfare on which to see and be seen," and as such retained some of the leisurely flavor of West Franklin, where years before residents had been "on tiptoe" to catch a glimpse of famous local beauties May Handy and Irene Langhorne. On Sunday in the 1910s, families still paraded home after church, and in the afternoons "teen-aged girls decked themselves in their best and congregated on the porches of Monument Avenue to giggle, preen, and wait for a glimpse of [matinee idol] Jack Warner."[52]

From the avenue's first years, the architectural fabric was a backdrop for public events, and the attention devoted to the facades of Monument Avenue houses reflected their role in creating an enclosed outdoor environment. At the same time, individual houses and the avenue as a whole stood as a sort of advertisement, not just of individual accomplishments, but of a neighborhood that had coalesced around ideals of civic commemoration.

A NEW ELITE

In 1910 Monument Avenue was still a young neighborhood, with only about seventy residences built, and dozens more in the planning stages. Neither the Allens nor the Branches had built their homes on Monument, and only the first of the institutions that would come to dominate the lower blocks of the avenue were in place. John F. Sheppard's heirs had begun to sell parcels of land, but they had yet to plat the entire estate, and cornfields still grew beyond Boulevard. Still, encouraging signs of civic progress abounded, and some of the city's most prominent business and political leaders had already made Monument their home. Even the first residents of the avenue, building before 1905, included several wholesale merchants, a bank president, and one of the most active land traders on the avenue. From the very beginning, Monument Avenue was home to men in the leading ranks of an emerging professional/managerial

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[50]Those who remembered events on Monument Avenue were not all a part of the society who could afford to live there: Mrs. Ida A. Hite remembered the Stuart unveiling as "a big day in my life," when a postcard was made of the occasion in which her leghorn hat, with daisies, was memorialized. Hite, who at the time lived in Church Hill, writes that "it was very nice in 1907 never owned a house any whare." Questionnaire response, Monument Avenue Exhibition file, Valentine Museum, Richmond.

[51]Edith Lindeman, "Avenue was City's Easter Parade Route," Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 10, 1977.

[52]Lindeman, "Easter Parade"; Dabney, 263; Lindeman, "Richmond's State of Mind." Irene Langhorne became the original "Gibson girl" after marrying artist Charles Dana Gibson.

class, "the 'New South' elite of merchants, lawyers, and other professionals who had displaced and subsumed the old planter class."[53]

In 1910, the occupational fields of Monument Avenue homeowners ranged from manufacturing to selling to financing to professional services, but in all it was the elite ranks who bought houses on the avenue. Although some clerks and salesmen lived on Monument, they were usually renters or sons of business owners. Almost all adult male residents were employed, and the few who lived off of an unspecified income were probably retired or working as landlords, rather than independently wealthy.[54] In 1910 merchants, whether wholesale or retail, outnumbered the bankers and manufacturers. Homeowners on Monument included families involved in some of the largest and most fashionable stores in Richmond--including the Harwoods (paint), the Thalhimers (department store), and the Binswangers (glass).

Figure 43 Langbourne M. Williams, banker and construction company president, built a mansion on Stuart Circle with the address 1219 W. Franklin St. The houses to the right face onto Lombardy Street. Valentine Museum.

Business owners on the avenue included both old Virginia families and new immigrants, tobacco magnates and wholesale jewelers. These men met socially not just as neighbors, but as politically involved citizens. Business partners living near each other on the avenue were often related by either blood or marriage as well. They belonged to all the Richmond social clubs, to

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[53]Kirk Eugene Savage, "Race, Memory, and Identity: The National Monuments of the Union and the Confederacy" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1991), 196.

[54]Of the five residents whose employment information on the 1910 Census is given as "own income," two were over 70. Three were living with their (employed) sons, while 55-year-old L. W. Pizzini lived with his wife at 1812, and 40-year-old widower Phillip E. Johnson lived at 2023 with his daughter. The latter was probably a mistake in the census, for Mrs. P.E. Johnson (Laura H. Johnson) had the house built in 1908, when she was listed in the city directories as a widow. In any case, there was a renter also living at 2023, which would have provided a modest income.

the masonic orders, to the City Council, and to the Chamber of Commerce.[55] Monument Avenue under Otway Allen began as a speculative venture integrally tied to both business and political interests; as it developed over the years, residents continued to be leading figures in Richmond government. David C. Richardson, elected mayor in 1908, lived on Monument in 1906. In 1904, when Carlton McCarthy's election as mayor "marked a shift in power from the largely working-class east end to the rising power of the more affluent west end precincts," four of the five new Common Council members were from Lee Ward. William T. Dabney, who defeated Otway Allen, would later serve as the business manager for the Chamber of Commerce, an organization overrun with Monument Avenue residents.[56]

In 1929, Chamber of Commerce members who lived on Monument included, among others, jeweler William H. Schwarzschild, banker Julian Hill, contractor John T. Wilson, doctor Stuart McGuire, cotton king R. M. Jeffress, theater owner (and former hat salesman) Samuel Bendheim, architect Charles H. Phillips, and glass manufacturer Harry S. Binswanger. The committees they headed often had nothing to do with their occupations (Phillips, for example, was involved with aviation, while Binswanger sat on the traffic committee), but apparently their participation had less to do with professional expertise than with a broadly defined sense of civic responsibility. According to a 1914 article published in the Chamber of Commerce's Richmond Magazine, a commercial organization's motto "must be, 'If it's good for the community, then let us have it.'" The Chamber was explicit about the connection between business and politics, claiming, "It is the civic body's duty to interest itself in all legislative matters which may have an effect upon the city."[57] With a City Council that included eighteen aldermen, thirty common coucilmen, and twenty-five standing committees, it wasn't difficult for prominent businessmen to be involved in the government of the city. Some of Monument's residents were involved in so many different enterprises that they listed themselves in the city directories, as Otway Allen did, as "capitalists." A few of the most prominent served on the boards of numerous companies: Jaquelin P. Taylor, for instance, was president of a tobacco company and chairman of the board of Planters National Bank; Robert G. Cabell was the treasurer of several building-material companies while he worked for Thomas Branch and Company.[58]

Men who formed part of an emerging group of self-employed professionals were represented on the avenue in 1910 by two lawyers, two realtors, a dentist, two bookbinders, a civil engineer, and a contractor. By 1930, the professional ranks included six attorneys, eight architects and engineers, thirteen doctors and dentists, and eighteen realtors. While nearly half the residents were involved in retail or wholesale merchandising in 1910, the percentage appears to

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[55]For more on Richmond's clubs, see John A. Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond (1881-1944) (Verona, VA: McClure Press, 1974), chaps. 18-22. Not everyone, of course, belonged to the same clubs. The Jefferson was a Jewish men's club, while the Commonwealth and Westmoreland clubs were strictly gentile by the turn of the century. However, Jews were active in the Masons and other fraternal orders, and white businessmen of all creeds apparently met on fairly equal terms in the marketplace, if not at the dinner table. The problems of acceptance and integration faced by Jewish families on Monument Avenue are addressed below.

[56]Silver, 44.

[57]"Duties of a Commercial Organization," Richmond Magazine 1, no. 2 (August 1914).

[58]That such overlapping interests were not only tolerated by Richmond's business community, but actively encouraged, is suggested by the response in Richmond Magazine to anti-trust legislation pending before Congress in 1914. Although in larger cities interlocking directorates had been "carried to such an excess as to be fraught with evil," in Richmond it was "felt that no evil had resulted . . . from individuals serving on two or more directorates." Richmond Magazine 1, no. 1 (July 1914).

have dropped off dramatically during the next two decades, replaced in part by growing numbers of executive businessmen, along with independent professionals.[59]

The only professional building on Monument Avenue before the 1950s was built in 1913: Stuart Circle Hospital. One incentive for doctors to settle on Monument was no doubt the proximity of the hospital, along with nearby St. Luke's Hospital and the Medical College of Virginia. Hospitals, along with skyscrapers and apartment buildings, were part of the development that carried the city a step closer to becoming a metropolis during the 1910s, and by 1916 Richmond was known as "the hospital city of the South," according to one character in Glasgow's Life and Gabriella.[60] Early twentieth-century hospitals were generally still private ventures, owned by either individuals or small groups of doctors, and thus were potentially profitable investments as well as employers. Stuart Circle was a successful hospital throughout the decades: having expanded in 1920, it was the largest privately owned hospital in the city by 1930. Stuart Circle added a home for nurses in 1931, and expanded again after World War II.[61]

Men came to the ranks of the new elite classes from varied backgrounds. Some emerged from the embers of old Virginia planter families, others had more humble ancestry in farming or small business, and still others were Jewish immigrants, mostly from Germany. When Glasgow's heroine Gabriella returns to Richmond in the early 1910s, she finds that Monument Avenue has been settled by "awfully clever fellows" who have made their money in fertilizers, tobacco trusts, and railroad stocks, as well as by a few old-timers that she knew from nineteenth-century Franklin Street.[62]

Two doctors, Marvin E. Nuckols and Stuart McGuire, illustrate some of the differences that characterized the origins of many Monument Avenue residents. Dr. Stuart McGuire was one of the best-known surgeons in Richmond; he was president of the Medical College of Virginia

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[59]It would be misleading to draw too many fine distinctions between the general categories of "professionals" and "businessmen" and "merchants," because the lines between the three groups were often blurred, and because together they formed a distinct new elite, but the declining percentage of merchants does suggest a significant demographic shift.

Calculations are based on a comparison of occupations listed for residents in the 1910 Census and those listed in the Richmond City Directories for original owners from 1889 to 1931. "Professionals" have been rather loosely defined as self-employed workers in the service sector, including doctors, lawyers, architects, and realtors, and excluding businessmen such as merchants and bankers and white-collar workers such as clerks and salesmen. The percentage of Monument Avenue homeowners who were professionals appears to have risen during the 1910s and 1920s, with approximately 10 percent in 1910 and 18 percent overall; the same percentages held for executives (including presidents, vice presidents, secretary-treasurers, cashiers, and managers of non-retail/wholesale enterprises). Merchants, on the other hand, fell from almost 50 percent in 1910 to an overall figure of only 20 percent.

[60]Glasgow, Life and Gabriella, 502. Charley, Gabriella's brother-in-law and the novel's spokesperson for progress, goes on to comment on the ownership of the hospitals:

> Look sharp now, we're coming to a hospital. That belongs to Dr. Browning. You don't remember Dr. Browning. After your day, I reckon. He's a young chap, but he's got his hospital like all the rest, and every bed filled . . . But they've all got their hospitals. (505.)

[61]"Stuart Circle Hospital Will Add Two New Units," Richmond News Leader, March 10, 1930; "Stuart Circle Plans to Add Hospital Wing," Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 26, 1941, sec. 1, p. 14; "Stuart Circle Adding Rooms for 10 Patients," Richmond News Leader, July 20, 1945.

[62]When Gabriella inquires after "the old people--the people I used to know," the reply is, "Oh, they're scattered about everywhere, but they haven't got most of the money. A lot of them live up here [on Monument], and a lot are down in Franklin Street in the same old houses." Glasgow, Life and Gabriella, 506-507.

Figure 44 The dual function of this house at 2017-19 Monument Ave. is marked by its two front doors: one to doctors' offices, and one to the living quarters. Boucher, HABS.

and proprietor and surgeon-in-chief at St. Luke's, and his grandfather had been Stonewall Jackson's physician. McGuire had an extensive education for the time, including three years at Richmond College, a medical degree from the University of Virginia, and a law degree acquired when he was almost 50. According to one biographer, McGuire "measured up to the solar height of the professional fame of his father and grandfather." His house at No. 2304 (figs. 58-60) was based on the same Salisbury manor that inspired Robert G. Cabell's house at No. 2601, and was built during the 1920s, contemporary with the grandest mansions on the 2300 and 2600 blocks.[63]

Although he was nine years younger than McGuire, Dr. Marvin E. Nuckols built his house at 1614 Monument a decade before the more famous physician, in the same year that Stuart Circle Hospital was constructed. Nuckols was 37 at the time, and had been practicing medicine since he was 21. Unlike Dr. McGuire, Nuckols came from generations of farmers--all of his siblings stayed in the farming business--and his father had served as a Confederate soldier. But Nuckols, too, became an established member of Richmond society; he belonged to the

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[63] American Historical Society Special Staff of Writers, Virginia Biography, vol. 4 of History of Virginia (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1924), 8-9. See chapters 3 and 4 for more on the McGuire home.

Westmoreland Club and the Country Club of Virginia, and his son attended the prestigious McGuire School. Nuckols, unlike McGuire, included his offices in his home.[64]

One of the hallmarks of early twentieth-century neighborhoods was the development of residential areas that were separated from the noise and bustle of business and manufacturing districts. A common denominator among all Monument Avenue merchants was that they lived not over their shops, as was common in 1900, but in a residential neighborhood. After the turn of the century, a growing number of Richmonders turned away from the center city as it became defined as a strictly business space, taking, as historian Christopher Silver calls it, "the fateful step into modernity."[65] Doctors on Monument Avenue, however, were an example of a group of professionals who often continued to operate their business out of their homes, and by doing so both influenced and adapted to the architectural protocols of the avenue. A typical office housed only one doctor, with family living quarters on the upper floors and professional space on the ground or lower level. In order to solve the problem of including office space on what was clearly a residential boulevard, architects usually tried to hide the business aspect on the facade. In the house built by Duncan Lee for Dr. H. A. Bullock at 2017 Monument, the symmetry of the front is preserved with matching entrances at either side, with the doctor's office on the first floor and the family's living quarters on the second and third.

FAMILY LIFE

Although most Monument Avenue houses appear to have been designed as single-family dwellings, it is important to remember that the original owners were not primarily nuclear families: only about one-half of the 1910 households consisted of a married couple with or without children, and most of these had live-in servants, as well. Many households included members of the extended family, and some took in lodgers. At No. 2038, for example, the Dunstan family included Samuel and Elizabeth Dunstan, their son Bruce, Samuel's father and sister, and a friend. Three cousins doubled the size of the Barksdale home at No. 2204; at No. 2007 Ada Strause, a widow, lived with her 19-year-old son and her 70-year-old mother. The 1910 census figures reveal no clear distinctions along class lines between larger and smaller households, and both immigrant and native families took in relatives: for example, both bank president Oliver Sands and traveling salesman Emanuel Ullman lived with their mothers-in-law.[66]

Although one might expect new Monument Avenue homeowners to have been young couples starting a family away from the noisy center of the city, census figures tell a different story. More than 80 percent of the household heads in 1910 were over 40, and more than one-half of these were over 50. Some residents lived in their new homes for only a few years: John S. Harwood, for instance, died eleven years after he built his home at 2000 Monument; Isaac Held died within a year of building his home; Otway Allen never saw his house completed. Apparently,

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[64]American Historical Society, 220.

[65]Silver, 27.

[66]For the purposes of this study, "immigrant families" are defined as those households with at least one head (either husband or wife) who was born in another country, or who had a parent born in another country. Immigrant families averaged just over six people per household, while native families averaged 5.7 per household. 1910 Census.

a Monument Avenue address in the early years was affordable only after one's business success had been established. However, families were not so old that the children had all moved away: nearly 70 percent had children under 20, and almost 40 percent had children under 10. Many families moved to Monument Avenue from other parts of the Fan District, and children were no doubt an integral part of both Monument Avenue and the larger neighborhood.[67]

The Home as Workplace

Taking care of children was one of the primary jobs that was done within the Monument Avenue home, sometimes by governesses or nurses imported from Europe, but more often by black servants. It was common practice at the turn of the century for "mammies" to have charge

Figure 45 Black "nurses" and their white charges gather in the avenue's grass median to watch the parade of traffic around the Stonewall Jackson Monument, ca. 1920. Valentine Museum.

[67]1910 Census, Richmond. The number of stories from old-timers about playing baseball in empty lots and sledding down the old Star Fort walls further suggests that Monument was originally a children's neighborhood, far more so than it is today.

over the children of the house, as had been the case in slave-owning households for decades before the war. James Branch Cabell, in his autobiography, conveys some of the ambiguities and tensions that developed between African-American servants and white employers as a result of the post-Reconstruction organization of labor and home life in Richmond:

> For Mrs. Nelson did not have to stay where folks did not like her ways. She did not intend to go on slaving where people were not satisfied. And so, about once every month, we learned that she was going back home, the very first thing tomorrow morning, to live in her rooms over on St. James Street without being stormed at and fussed with enough to run anybody clean crazy.
>
> I do not think that at any time she had the least intention of doing this. But the knowledge that she, after all, was free to desert us for those rooms upon St. James Street kept every one of her dependents in a proper state of subjection throughout the quarter of a century.[68]

Live-in servants, at least through 1930, were almost a given on Monument Avenue: more than 85 percent of the households on the avenue in 1910 employed at least one live-in servant, and nearly half had two or more.[69] With few exceptions, domestic servants were female and black.[70] According to the available 1910 Census data, only five families had white servants living with them. Two of the employers (Lucy Hill and Magnus Hessberg) were German immigrants, and their servants were of Irish and French background.[71] All the white servants were listed in the 1910 Census by specific jobs: two were "nurses," three "governesses," one "cook" and one "housekeeper," suggesting that their roles in the house were distinct, at least in the minds of those who provided information for the census takers.

No black women were listed as "nurse" or "governess"; black domestic workers, whether cooks, maids, nannies, or all three, were listed generically as "servants." According to labor historian Jacqueline Jones, mistresses "placed little value on labor specialization within their own households," and black servants generally worked in whatever capacity was needed.[72] James Branch Cabell's eulogy to his mammy Mrs. Nelson, written in the 1940s, adds a wry twist to an idealized vision of servitude:

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[68]James Branch Cabell, Let Me Lie: Being in the Main an Ethnological Account of the Remarkable Commonwealth of Virginia and the Making of Its History (NY: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1947), 194-95.

[69]Although by 1920 day work, especially among black servants, was predominant throughout the South, live-in servants in the Fan District were apparently commonplace. No data has been found documenting the use of additional day work by Monument Avenue residences. David Katzman, Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 44, 90; Drew Carneal interview; 1910 Census.

[70]Throughout the South, according to David Katzman, "'domestic servant' was synonymous with 'black woman.'" Katzman, 24. The 1910 Census distinguishes between "black" and "mulatto," but for the purposes of this study the two categories have been merged.

[71]The Hills at No. 1810, the Freedleys at No. 1811, the Walls at No. 1820, the Hoadlys at No. 1822, and the Hessbergs at No. 2007 all employed white servants. There seems to have been a tendency for recent immigrants to hire white servants rather than, or in addition to, blacks; three of the seven families headed by immigrants employed white women. 1910 Census.

[72]Jones describes a Richmond woman who responded to an advertisement for a "chambermaid in a small family" only to discover that she was "'expected to answer the door bell, wait on the table, keep the rooms in order, and make herself generally useful as assistant cook or laundress'--for a family of ten." Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1986), 130.

> In title, to be sure, she remained Mammy. But so far as went her indoor pursuits, she merely swept, and dusted, and sewed, and excelled in darning, and delighted to wait at table in her black silk dress whensoever we had company. She tended the ill; she now and then cooked meals, but only when a creative urge to cook was upon her; and she "laundered"--if that verb be still in current usage--with a perfection which to the present age is unknown. In fine, Mrs. Nelson, after her actual retirement as a mammy, did everything; but always, it must be recorded, upon her own terms.

Nelson, like seven (out of ninety-eight) Monument Avenue servants in 1910, was never taught to read or write.[73]

According to the 1910 Census, roughly 10 percent of domestics were male, and they were generally listed as "butlers," although some probably worked as well as chauffeurs and lived above the garages. Rarely did a married servant couple live together, although members of the same family do seem to have worked for one household, or next door to each other.[74] About 10 percent of the servants were under 20--one as young as 12--and 10 percent over 50, the oldest 71. However, more than half the servants were in their 20s and 30s, and several were married, some with children.[75]

Although little data has been found documenting the relationships of Monument Avenue servants to their own families, women with young children at home must have found it difficult to live on Monument with their employers. Jacqueline Jones describes servants finding an hour during the day to look in on their own children, who were often not welcome as visitors to their mother's workplace.[76] According to James Branch Cabell's self-conscious account, to Mrs. Nelson "her children" was "a heading under which she did not include [her own children] Julia and Kizzy, or any of Kizzy's descendants, but restricted to your two brothers and you."[77]

Nearly all of the houses built east of Roseneath, even the speculative cottages in the 3100 block, included maid's quarters, and some were designed to house several servants. In recent years, many homeowners have renovated the kitchens and pantries of their houses because the original spaces, cramped and sometimes practically uninsulated, were designed solely for servants' use. Service areas in Monument Avenue houses, especially in the more expansive houses, were separated from the family living quarters with a second circulation system including stairways and a back entry.

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[73]Cabell, Let Me Lie, 195. 1910 Census.

[74]Lilly and Bernetta Stovall, apparently sisters, worked for the Burrs at No. 2006, and Anna and Katherine Loug worked next door to each other at Nos. 1820 and 1822. An entire family--Shepherd and Camilla Carter and their 2-year-old son--lived at No. 1819 working for the Thornton family, but they were certainly exceptions, along with Lucy and Washington Braxton, who were married for twenty years and worked together for the Taylors at 1632 Monument. 1910 Census.

[75]1910 Census.

[76]Jones, 129.

[77]Cabell, 191.

Figure 46 Family, servants, and even dogs are featured in this ca. 1900 photograph of A. D. Williams's Queen Anne/Romanesque mansion at 800 W. Franklin St., a few blocks east of Monument Avenue. Valentine Museum.

The separation of spheres between employers and servants is visible as well in the larger landscape of Monument Avenue. Except when taking care of their employer's children, servants would rarely have been seen in the public arena of the grass plot and the monuments. For servants, the outdoor space defined by Monument Avenue was not a grand tree-lined boulevard, but rather the back alleys that cut through each block between Monument and the side streets Grace and Park. The alleys running throughout the Fan District can be viewed as a sort of structural framework that made the development of Monument Avenue possible. Like the working-class neighborhoods that flanked the entire Fan District, supporting its westward expansion, the alleys allowed services from the rest of Richmond to make their way to Monument houses without disturbing the pristine facade. Hidden from view would come the ice man, the coal man, and the "pig" man, who picked up cans of edible garbage for his livestock. Hidden, too, would be those often regarded as tragic reminders of the results of 1920s excesses: Depression-era tramps who trudged through the back alleys--or were sent there, should they knock at the front door by mistake--to ask for food or work at the kitchen door.[78]

The Home as Business

While women involved in the Daughters of the Confederacy and other organizations were a major force in the celebrations that characterized the avenue's public life, the role of white women in Monument Avenue families was defined primarily by their work as wives, mothers, and household managers.[79] By 1910 women were bearing fewer children than their mothers had; although many of the women living on the avenue were finished with their prime childbearing years, only a few had more than two or three children. (The exceptions were women of an earlier

[78]According to Zayde Dotts (interview), neither servants nor any service personnel ever used the front door.

[79]Women's roles in both the public and the private arenas deserve further study than they have been given here. Particularly interesting might be an investigation of the interiors of Monument Avenue homes, and the influences women residents had on architectural decisions.

generation, 60- and 70-year-olds who had borne as many as thirteen children.[80]) Still, they were not of a generation, or a class, that regularly moved outside of the home for paid employment.

Many women, however, were directly involved in the development of the avenue from the very beginning. Mary Held, at No. 3201, was one of many women who purchased the land for her house; Jeanette R. Mayo apparently commissioned the cottages on the 3100 block.[81] From Birch to Roseneath, dozens of women participated in every phase of development on the avenue, from the original platting to land speculation to building. Some women inherited property from their fathers or husbands; others purchased it in the marketplace. Frequently both married and single women did business in their own names, often attaching a "femme sole" clause to deed transactions, ensuring that their husbands, present or future, could not wrest control of their land.[82]

However, fewer than 10 percent of the first female residents in the study area were identified as household heads in the city directories,[83] and only seven of the sixty-four Monument Avenue households found in the 1910 census were headed by women, all of them widows. Five lived with their children, and the other two lived with an older family member. Most of the women who built on the avenue were either married or widowed, although there were some notable exceptions. Julia Andrews, a schoolteacher, built a grand Tudor Revival house at No. 2607 in 1926 and lived there all her life with her brother. In 1928 unmarried sisters Anna and Ellen Boykin commissioned a house by William Lawrence Bottomley at No. 2714, at an estimated construction cost of $40,000.[84]

It is unclear how financially secure most of the widows on Monument Avenue were, or how much support they received from their children. One way that all families appear to have made extra money within the boundaries of the home was by taking in boarders. While medicine was one of the only professions in which work and living spaces were combined in a single building, early Monument Avenue homeowners often used their spacious living quarters to house other people. Paying lodgers were less common than relatives, but not extraordinary: Austin and

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[80]The three women with ten or more children were all over 60: Adeline Brauer, at No. 2226, had nine of ten children living; Miriam Michelbacher lived with her son-in-law Samuel Bendheim at No. 2213 and had lost four of her ten children; Sarah Hutzler lived with her son-in-law Emanuel Ullman at No. 2030, and only eight of her thirteen children had survived.

[81]Richmond Deed Book 203A: 270, Building Permit 1983; Building Permit 16314. The deed for 3201 was from a widow, Christina M. Ruppert, to Mary Held and Ida Hawkins; the connection between Held and Hawkins is unclear, but it was Mary Held alone who filed for a building permit in 1911.

Why deeds were so often made out to a wife rather than a couple or husband is a question that deserves further study. It may be that couples put property in the woman's name to protect the husband's income in the event of financial disaster, or the wife's security in the event of his death. Sometimes, no doubt, the money was hers in the first place.

[82]Women were also as capable as men of losing when they gambled in real estate, as evidenced by John F. Sheppard's daughter Marie Parsons, who lost her share of the estate during the Depression after putting it up for collateral against apartment buildings she hoped to finance along the Boulevard. Robert Sheppard, interview.

[83]Roughly twenty-five of more than 250 Monument Avenue addresses listed a woman in the first year the house appeared in the city directories.

[84]It seems unlikely that a schoolteacher's salary could have financed an $18,000 house in 1924; both Julia Andrews and the Boykin sisters had probably inherited money. Building Permits 13802, 18768.

Figure 47 Both buildings of the Collegiate School for Girls, shown in 1923. On the right is No. 1617, built in 1920; No. 1619 was completed in 1918. From Fifty Years of Collegiate: Echoes from 1915-1965.

Susan Burr, who lived in a large duplex at 2006 Monument, had no children and four boarders, ranging in age from 16 to 77.[85]

The Collegiate School for Girls

Aside from taking in boarders, teaching was one of the few occupations open to the kind of white woman about whom it could be said "she typified the culture and gentility of her generation."[86] While several Monument Avenue residents made their living as teachers, Helen Baker was an ardent educator who presided over the Collegiate School for Girls before she went bankrupt in 1920. Baker apparently put her entire savings into the school, as was common for headmistresses at the time, while others invested "for the purpose of making money as well as to benefit the children and the community." In 1915 Baker purchased a three-story residence on West Franklin across from the abandoned Richmond College, and in 1917 bought a lot on

[85] 1910 Census.

[86] Collegiate Historian Society Alumnae, Alumni, and Friends of the School, Fifty Years of Collegiate: A History of the Collegiate Schools, 1915-1965 ([Richmond, Virginia]: privately printed, 1967). Even nursing, Virginius Dabney writes, was a challenge to "the tradition that it was somehow improper for young women to be involved in any profession except teaching." Dabney, 277.

Figure 48 The student body of the Collegiate School for Girls prepares to decorate the statue of J. E. B. Stuart for Memorial Day, 1917, Miss Helen Baker in the fore. From Fifty Years of Collegiate.

Monument Avenue.[87]

The only secular institution on the avenue other than Stuart Circle Hospital, the Collegiate School was architecturally far more similar to the houses surrounding it, at least in its street aspect. The new building, at No. 1619, has been demolished, but it was similar to the later structure at No. 1617, currently in use as doctors' offices. Both were three stories, brick, and fit into the residential Colonial Revival character of the avenue. However, No. 1619 was apparently an improvement over the house at 1133 W. Franklin, for

> Gone were the days when a converted dwelling could serve as a school house. The new building was, for its day, the last word in comfort, safety and facilities of various sorts. In the basement was a lunch room, something brand new under the sun, and metal lockers for hats and coats, while on the roof was a basketball court which doubled for an out-of-doors gymnasium.[88]

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[87]Baker's first venture was in trouble from the beginning, for her friend and fellow teacher Mary Carter Anderson had pledged to contribute money for the school, and "due to unavoidable and tragic circumstances" had to withdraw her offer. It was said of Helen Baker that "she seems to have had a fatal 'blind spot' where money matters were concerned." The first board of trustees was organized in 1920, when a group affiliated with the Presbyterian Church stepped in to save the school. Until then, the school was not incorporated, church-affiliated, or non-profit. Fifty Years of Collegiate, 16, 20.

[88]Fifty Years of Collegiate, 21.

Collegiate School for Girls was, as its name implied, a preparatory school for college, not a finishing school, and apparently subscribed to fairly new ideas about the necessity of education and exercise for girls. Collegiate students playing basketball on the roof surely did not aspire, as Ellen Glasgow's generation did, only to be "pale and interesting."[89]

Despite Baker's financial troubles, the school succeeded in attracting loyal students, and in 1918 two well-known girls' schools merged with Collegiate. Prominent Monument Avenue families were involved with the school both as students and later as trustees, but according to the school history "a student stood on her own merits without regard to wealth or social rank."[90] Hailed for its progressive, modern ideals, the school also manifested the strong ties to Confederate ideals that prevailed all along the avenue; when the school opened, "students were still loyal little Confederates singing the beloved wartime songs." One of the guest speakers in 1917 was the only surviving member of Stonewall Jackson's staff, and the enthusiasm his speech generated was taken by school leaders as proof that they had not failed "to encourage a right understanding of Southern history and a loyal appreciation of Southern as well as national ideals."[91]

Baker and her successors encouraged a sense of community at the school, and borrowed at least one other tactic from the monument dedications of Confederate heroes: when they moved from West Franklin,

> with bursts of song and blaze of color, each class marched to the site of the new school building on Monument Avenue, and every student, from the littlest Primary to the tallest Senior, dug a spadeful of dirt so that each one might have a share in the making of this new home.[92]

Collegiate School for Girls was for many years a female enclave on Monument Avenue, and without a board of trustees, before 1920, teachers were in control of both school life and school property. In a sense, the school was for a brief moment at once a family and a business, a symbol of the kind of ties that were rapidly disappearing with the new urban planning that had encouraged the development of Monument Avenue from the very beginning.

THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

One of the elements that helped unite the avenue as both a monumental space and a neighborhood were the churches built there. The six churches on Monument Avenue represent

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[89] Ellen Glasgow uses the phrase, somewhat derogatively, in both her autobiography and her novels.

[90] Fifty Years of Collegiate, 21. An overview of the school's history and the 1917 yearbook revealed no prominent Jewish names, and although Jews may have attended, the school seems to have been primarily gentile and exclusively white. The school was never officially affiliated with the Presbyterian church (or with any religion), but in 1922 the Presbyterian League purchased the school, and the school's proximity to Grace Covenant cannot have been entirely coincidental.

[91] Fifty Years of Collegiate, 18; The Year Book of the Collegiate School for Girls in the City of Richmond (Richmond: Everett Waddey Co., 1917), 1: 9.

[92] Year Book, 8.

six different Protestant denominations--Episcopal, Lutheran, Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Christian Science.[93] Despite the varied origins of the six churches, each congregation shared with Monument Avenue residents the desire to continue the development of the neighborhood into a prosperous showcase. Ecclesiastic distinctions seem to have lent themselves to friendly capitalist competition, expressed architecturally within the context of the avenue. As early as 1910, Reverend John Scherer played on the desire of his congregation to have "a Lutheran church as fine as any the Baptists, Methodists and Episcopalians had."[94]

The churches tended to be built on unique, oversized lots, with St. John's Evangelical and Reformed and First English Evangelical Lutheran on quadrant lots at Stuart Circle, and the First Baptist Church on an entire block between Mulberry and Boulevard.[95] Aside from the Stuart Circle Hospital, these were the avenue's only prominent institutions in the first decades, and as such stood as solid civic emblems of the upper middle-class ecclesiastic values. The churches' founding dates range from 1780 (First Baptist) to 1901 (First Church of Christ Scientist), but most were built on Monument during the 1920s, by which time the avenue was firmly established as a fashionable neighborhood. Like the neighboring residences, the churches on Monument tend toward stately exhibition, and architecturally they include fairly narrow interpretations of conservative Gothic and Neoclassical styles. Their builders were often intently self-conscious of the images they hoped to erect, and of the role they might play in the life not just of Monument Avenue, but of the world beyond as well. The pastor of First English, for instance, hoped his new church would be "not only monumental to this avenue of monuments, but also a monument to Lutherans in the state."[96]

Some of the churches stood on their own merits as monumental structures, and those built on Stuart Circle--St. John's and First English Evangelical Lutheran--gained prominence by their relation to the Stuart monument. St. James's Episcopal was built at West Franklin and Birch five years after the Stuart monument was unveiled, and has a memorial window to him[97]; General Stuart was a parishioner of the church. Monument Avenue provided a streetscape eminently suited to the kind of showy architecture typified by Grace Covenant's elaborate stained glass front. The scale of the First Baptist Church, whose expansive complex covers the entire block

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[93]Because no Catholic churches were erected on Monument, and because Catholics as a group appear to have had minor influence on the development of the avenue, they have been given little attention here. However, German Catholics did live on the avenue, and included Joseph Sorg at No. 2015, beginning in 1916. Fritz Sitterding, who along with Sorg belonged to St. Mary's Church, was involved in the construction of buildings on Monument in his role as partner in the company of Sitterding-Davis-Carneal.

St. Mary's parochial school on Sheppard Street closed in 1919 because it could no longer afford to pay the nuns and the number of children attending had become "almost negligible," which may be an indication of the status of Catholics in the neighborhood west of the Boulevard around 1920. Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Virginia 1843-1935, by a Benedictine Father (n.p., n.d.) 23, 28-29.

[94]Mary Grace Scherer Taylor, Saints Alive! ([Richmond]: Congregation of the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1976), 24.

[95]It has been suggested that the First Baptist land was left undeveloped until the 1920s because it was "a swamp," and it may have been prohibitively expensive to drain for any but a large institution. Jimmy Walthall, interview by author, July 1991.

[96]Taylor, 24.

[97]St. Paul's Episcopal Church, at Ninth and Grace, was even more closely tied to the Confederacy, with both Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis as parishioners, and it has symbolic memorial windows to each. The Branches, among many other prominent families, belonged to St. Paul's. Troubetzkoy, 15.

Figure 49 First English Evangelical Lutheran Church is on the left, while in the distance, behind the statue of Stuart, is St. James's Episcopal Church. Boucher, HABS.

between Mulberry and Boulevard, is comparable to the mansions built by John K. Branch at No. 2501 and Whitmell S. Forbes at No. 3401, in the block just beyond Roseneath.

Forbes apparently donated the money for the First Baptist Church's new lot, which the trustees purchased from John P. Branch.[98] Like most of the churches on the avenue, First Baptist was tied to prominent families who lived there. St. James's too was connected to key figures in the development of Monument Avenue: land owner James Caskie and realtor (and later Monument Avenue resident) O. H. Funsten were both vestrymen who headed the committee that chose the new site on West Franklin in 1904, and Edmund B. Addison, a warden from 1871 to 1922, was on the building committee. In 1838, William C. Allen had contracted to build the previous church at Fifth and I, and contributed $40 to help pay for the building. In addition to its congregational ties to the neighborhood, the churches also affiliated with other institutions on the avenue: for example, Reverend John J. Scherer was for many years the "unofficial chaplain" for Stuart Circle Hospital, a teaching institution that held its baccalaureate and commencement

[98]There is some confusion about the conveyance of this land. According to deed transactions, the Branches sold the property, but church literature and Troubetzkoy (p.18) both cite Forbes as the previous owner.

exercises in the sanctuary; the Collegiate School for Girls at 1617-19 Monument (next door to Grace Covenant) was at one point financially rescued by the Presbyterian League.[99]

As congregations moved to the West End, so did their churches. Both St. James's and St. John's moved to Monument from Marshall Street in Jackson Ward, where commercial development was intruding and where, according to a 1910 appeal for relocation funds, "All of the surroundings are most unattractive, even on Sunday, and during the week are positively repulsive." First English Lutheran moved from Grace Street and Seventh, and First Baptist from Broad and Twelfth; both cited the growing commercialization of their neighborhoods and membership loss due to suburban expansion as the primary reason for the move. As early as the 1890s, First Baptist Church leadership worried about attendance dropping because of "the distance which many of our members live from the church centre," a recurrent theme in the histories of Monument Avenue churches.[100]

Another constant worry for many of the churches was money. For a time, the parishioners of the First Baptist Church worshiped in a small, temporary building on the Monument Avenue lot; it was not until 1927 that ground was broken for the current building. Similarly, the Christian Scientists occupied the basement of their new building for seven years during the Depression before the ground floor was completed.[101] Certainly the different churches varied in their financial resources and management.[102] Some churches, however, seem to have suffered from a perennial lack of funds due in part to the limited financial resources of their congregations. The First English Lutheran Church is especially interesting in this regard, for in the first years on Monument its members were apparently poorer than most Monument Avenue residents and, "since they had no sizable possessions to give up, they practised denial of small luxuries," such as walking from Highland Park instead of taking the trolley. The congregation helped finance its new building with an elaborate insurance scheme, which it paid off twenty-five years later. By the 1920s, however, the membership was apparently better off, for the church turned to voluntary gifts rather than "suppers, rummage sales, entertainments and other methods," and in 1922 the budget was oversubscribed. For First English, and perhaps for other churches as well, a Monument Avenue address was apparently worth the financial risk.[103]

One of the reasons that members of both First English and St. John's may have been anxious to build on the avenue was that both were originally immigrant churches, and at the turn of the century were faced with stark choices about assimilation and tradition. In the 1890s, St. John's was still conducting services in German, and one former parishioner remembered being

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[99]Margaret T. Peters, ed., Not Hearers Only: A History of St. James's Episcopal Church Richmond, Virginia 1835-1985 ([Richmond]: St. James's Episcopal Church, 1986) 96, 98; Agreement between William C. Allen and the trustees of St. James's, March 29, 1938, St. James's Church (Protestant Episcopalian) Records 1814-1957, Virginia Historical Society; Taylor, 36.

[100]Peters, 43-44; Taylor, 23; Troubetzkoy, 18.

[101]Troubetzkoy, 18; "Church Interior is Attractive," Richmond News Leader, April 3, 1937.

[102]Some churches, such as St. James's and First Baptist, seem to have had a preponderance of important Monument Avenue figures as parishioners. Others, such as St. John's, seem to have had few Monument residents in their congregation. St. James's parishioners were primarily old Virginia families, while St. John's and First English attracted second- and third-generation Germans.

[103]The church apparently borrowed money on life insurance policies it took out on thirty of its parishioners, all of whom survived war and an epidemic. Taylor, 26, 31.

switched from Sunday School at St. John's to First English Lutheran because his mother "did not want us to be hyphenated as German-Americans." St. John's purchased a Monument Avenue lot in 1913, six years after it began holding services in English. First English, as its name suggests, emphasized the English language (and by implication the Americanization of its members) from its inception in 1869. Churches, with their strong community ties, could be important factors in determining the relationships both amid and between congregations. By the time Monument Avenue was being developed, the churches that built on the avenue appear to have tended toward ecumenism and Americanism, united in their desire to participate in the prestigious community of Monument Avenue.[104]

One of the most illustrative ways to investigate the forces of assimilation and segregation on Monument Avenue is to look more closely at the Jewish population which, from the very beginning, built a community in proximity to Temple Beth Ahabah, which was at the corner of Monument Avenue and Ryland Street, two blocks east of the Stuart Monument. At the turn of the century, Beth Ahabah was closely allied to the Jewish Reform movement, which emphasized ecumenism and assimilation over traditional forms of service. Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, who came to Richmond in 1891, was a strong Reform proponent.

The available census figures for 1910 indicate that all the Jewish families living on Monument Avenue included either first-generation Americans or immigrants, most of them from Germany. However, they came to a city with a rich history of Jewish life: Richmond had been home to a substantial Jewish community since the eighteenth century, and many Jewish men had served in the Confederate army and become "part of the Southern power structure" by 1900. According to historian Myron Berman, "colonial Jewish families considered themselves an aristocracy both culturally and religiously," frequently intermarried with gentile families, and were "largely Americanized and assimilated." Although most of the Jews on Monument belonged to fairly recent waves of German immigration from the 1850s and 1880s, they were also, by and large, businessmen who were able to build on both their individual successes and cultural ties to participate in the emerging power structure of the twentieth century.[105]

Religious and family ties appear to have been particularly strong among Beth Ahabah families, and the complex relationships that developed between Jewish families on Monument provide a good example of the ways in which social connections helped form both business and neighborhood communities. The Rosenbloom and Held families, for instance, together occupied at least nine Monument Avenue buildings over the years, and were connected by marriage to the Schwarzschilds, the Bachrachs, the Sycles, the Greentrees, and the Ullmans, all of whom lived on Monument and were members of Beth Ahabah.[106]

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[104]Taylor, 21; Troubetzkoy, 37. More work could certainly be done on the churches of Monument Avenue (especially to determine which congregations were primarily composed of Monument Avenue residents), and on relationships between congregations.

[105]Myron Berman, Richmond's Jewry, 1769-1976: Shabbat in Shockoe (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Jewish Community Federation of Richmond, 1979), 3. Berman suggests that even before the assimilation-oriented Reform movement in the early twentieth century, early Jews had lost their religious ties, and notes that "No scion of any pioneer family, be he Sephardic or Ashkenazic, is presently a member of a synagogue in Richmond," 254.

[106]Gentile families on Monument may also have been bound by the complex kinship networks that unite Beth Ahabah families, but it seems unlikely that the ties were quite as extensive. The specific unions mentioned are as follows: Rosalie Held, Irving's sister, married jeweler William H. Schwarzschild; Irving's father Isaac Held married Mary Bachrach, pawnbroker Samuel Bachrach's sister;

During the late nineteenth century, the Held and Rosenbloom families lived near each other in Jackson Ward, first on West Marshall and North Second streets, and later on West and East Clay. Irving Held and Dora Rosenbloom had been childhood sweethearts, and in 1909 they were married in the front drawing room of her father's new home at 2012 Monument Avenue. The two families, including Dora's parents Moses and Rebecca, her four siblings, and a servant, lived there for the next nine years; in 1918 they moved en masse first to the Brooke at No. 2215, and later to other apartments on the avenue. Irving's parents, Isaac and Mary Held, built the triangular house at 3201 Monument around 1910; Isaac died in 1914, but Mary lived there until 1925, when she moved to an apartment on North Boulevard.[107]

A grown son living with his parents (in both Jewish and gentile families) often worked in his father's business, and sometimes took it over after his death. Moses Rosenbloom's son, Abraham, worked with him in the family furniture store, and after Moses died Abraham and his sister Sara each inherited a half share.[108] In 1920-21 Irving Held was a traveling salesman for his father-in-law; earlier, he had worked brief stints for several different Beth Ahabah members, inculding the Binswangers and the Strauses. In 1922, he started in the insurance business, eventually becoming the leading agent in Virginia. Evidently, the experience Held gained through familial and social connections in his early years allowed him to succeed later on his own.

Membership in fraternal organizations such as the Masons offered both a means of assimilation and a support system, not just for Jews but for all immigrants. The Hellenic Lodge, for instance, which Irving Held helped found, was open to Greek, Italian, and Russian immigrants, as well as German. Lewis Held suggests that Isaac Held's membership in various fraternal clubs was primarily motivated by economic reasons: "He had ten children to support. The income he earned as a secretary or treasurer in these fraternities helped supplement his government salary . . . His daughter . . . recalled his coming home from City Hall every night and staying up until 11 P.M. tapping at his typewriter to earn the extra income." Education was not a given for early Monument Avenue Jews, and the Jefferson Club, a prestigious men's club just north of Monument Avenue on Allen (fig. 30), was formed in part as an educational society for its members: "for the training received in the Jefferson was all the schooling that a number of them had and to it is due the present position of many who are now included among Richmond's prominent citizens."[109]

Despite the long history of Jewish communities in Richmond, the city was not immune to the rising tide of anti-Semitism that spread through the country in the 1890s, and that focused primarily on the most recent Eastern European immigrants. Historian Myron Berman suggests

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Mary Bachrach's niece Mina Sternheimer married travelling salesman Lawrence Sycle; Rae Rosenbloom, Dora's sister, married clothier Gilbert Greentree, and Marion Heller, Irving Held's cousin, married Leo E. Ullman. Lewis I. Held, Jr., Held Family History, vol. 1, From Antiquity to the Generation of Irving I. Held ([Richmond]: Privately printed, 1990).

[107]Held, family tree and 203-7.

[108]Other sons working for their fathers included: bookbinder L. Howard Jenkins, Jr., oils merchant John S. Harwood, Jr., at 2000, furniture merchant Abraham Rosenbloom at No. 2002, life insurance agent T. Garnett Tabb at No. 2028, and live stock merchant Mindy Brauer at No. 2226. 1910 Census.

[109]Held, 208, 127; "The Jefferson Club," The Owl 14, no. 5 (October 1902): 16. The Jefferson Club was formed in 1895 when the Mercantile Club merged with the Jefferson Literary and Social Circle, an organization organized in the 1860s.

Figure 50 Isadore and Ada Strause lived at 1622 Monument Ave., with the two-story rounded bay. Ada Strause also lived at three other addresses on Monument Avenue. Boucher, HABS.

that German Jews, apprehensive about their position in Richmond, turned to nationalism and Reform Judaism as a means of ensuring that they continued to be treated as fully assimilated citizens and not as "aliens in occidental climes."[110]

From the beginning, Berman suggests, tensions developed as often between established immigrants and newcomers as they did between Jews and Christians, and affluent Jewish families often closed ranks against recent immigrants. A particularly wide gulf developed between German and Eastern European Jews in the late nineteenth century, as Germans turned toward the Reform philosophy espoused by Beth Ahabah and Russians founded a separate Orthodox synagogue, Sir Moses Montefiore, in 1886.[111] Many Jewish customs were discarded at the turn of the century at Beth Ahabah, including a Kosher household, unleavened bread on Passover, a strictly kept Sabbath, and bar mitzvahs. A second component of assimilation included coming to terms with the values and memories of the South,

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[110] Berman, 250.

[111] Berman, 225. The enmity apparently held until at least the 1940s, when Solomon A. Fineberg, a representative of the American Jewish Committee, wrote:

> In Richmond, lines are drawn between Jews of German and Jews of Russian extraction with almost unparalleled sharpness. So ingrained is the snobbishness of the one group toward the other that it is no exaggeration to say that the German Jews cannot associate with Jews of East European origin on equal social terms without themselves risking the loss of their social standing. It is significant that marriages between Jews and Christians have been more frequent than marriages between German Jews and Jews of eastern extraction. (Berman, 296-97.)

Moses Rosenbloom's family was apparently one of the exceptions, for although Russian they were connected to several of the German families on the avenue. Rosenbloom in effect assimilated with the German community: he joined Beth Ahabah, and in 1900 had listed his country of origin as Germany. He spoke fluent German, never Russian or Polish. Held, 265-73.

and many of Richmond's first-generation Americans "adopted the legends and ceremonials of the Confederacy as their own." Americanism was one means of redefining one's heritage, of constructing a self-image around new ideals of prosperity and Southern gentility, rather than ties to abandoned countries and rituals. When asked, in 1979, her parents' native country, Moses Rosenbloom's daughter Sara replied that she did not know, and that she did not "ever ask where people came from: what mattered was the kind of person you were."[112]

Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, "probably the most prominent religious leader in Richmond," came to Richmond after meeting several Beth Ahabah families while officiating at the wedding of Ada Eisfeld and Isadore I. Strause in Burlington, Iowa, in 1890. Moses Millhiser, president of Beth Ahabah, had insisted that the new rabbi be a native-born American; Calisch was born in Toledo, Ohio, a decade after his parents had immigrated from Holland in the 1850s. Calisch was an anti-Zionist and an ardent proponent of the Reform movement, and "envisioned an age when differences between Christian and Jew shall be merged 'into the great temple of the brotherhood of man.'" Both Calisch and the congregation of Beth Ahabah succeeded, to some degree, in their ecumenical efforts. Calisch was a prolific writer and speaker in both religious and social arenas; he spoke at numerous interdenominational functions, and was a frequent guest pastor to Christian congregations. He was also active in community movements such as the Equal Suffrage League, headed by reformer Lila Meade Valentine.[113]

The financial success of many Monument Avenue Jews no doubt contributed to their standing in the community. Several of the city's most prominent businessmen--including department store owner Isaac Thalhimer, jeweler William H. Schwarzschild, and realtor Henry S. Wallerstein--were members of Beth Ahabah. At Isaac Held's funeral in 1914, one of Richmond's largest ever, "people stood out in the streets--as many Christians as Jews." Held had served for many years as the city's deputy treasurer, belonged to several civic and social clubs, and was "widely regarded as an authority of 'Who's Who?' in Richmond."[114] The number of Monument Avenue Jews who belonged to the business and political circles that ran the city is testament to their integration into the public life of the city. Their presence on Monument suggests that they were also part of a new social elite, for whom Monument Avenue represented "acceptance, the freedom to live where one wishes."[115]

By 1909, the Jefferson Club had a membership of over 150 and was known as "the center of Jewish social life. Its balls are anticipated with pleasure and are among the most brilliant of Richmond's social functions."[116] From 1905 to 1930 more than 80 percent of the Jefferson's presidents lived on Monument, and included many business leaders. However, despite the

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[112]Berman, 246, 251; Held, 265.

[113]Dabney, 292, 260; Berman, 249; Ward, 226. Calisch delivered the prayer at the Mount Vernon observance of the centennial of George Washington's death. In 1893 he invited Dr. R. P. Kerr, pastor of First Presbyterian, to give the Thanksgiving Day sermon to his Beth Ahabah congregation. Dabney, 260, 292.

[114]Held, 123, 139.

[115]Claire Rosenbaum, "What is it about Beth Ahabah and Monument Avenue?" address to the Congregation Beth Ahabah, April 26, 1991, 11.

[116]"The Jefferson Club."

Jefferson's elite membership, the club was segregated from the other prestigious men's clubs by its very nature as a Jewish enclave, just as "Monument Avenue was an island of Jewish life within the largely non-Jewish city of Richmond."[117] Thus, even in the midst of financial and social success, there remained a question of how welcome Jews were in the city, and to what extent they chose to participate in gentile life.

Assimilation appears to have been the trade-off for acceptance that many Monument Avenue Jews were willing to make. Even so, divisions remained. For instance, the most prestigious 2300 block was almost entirely gentile (Henry Wallerstein's mansion at No. 2312 is the one exception), while the 2800 block of apartment buildings just west of Boulevard, and later the highrise at No. 5100 became known as "the ghetto" to Beth Ahabah members.[118] For immigrants and first-generation Americans, assimilation meant not only taking on new roles in a new culture, but also consciously putting aside the old: no wonder that Moses Rosenbloom's daughter did not know where her parents came from, for he never spoke in his native Russian or Polish. Even German became a dangerous language during World War I, and Lewis Held, Jr., recalls his father's fear as a young child that "the police would think Moses was an enemy sympathizer and arrest him."[119] Monument Avenue, with its self-conscious construction as a boulevard of historical celebration, with its Colonial Revival mansions and monumental heroes, became the architectural context in which wealthy immigrants could shed the trappings of their European past for a show of successful Americanism. The story of Jewish families on the avenue, however, offers a peek into some of the cracks in that facade.

MOVING TOWARD THE FUTURE

One of the trends that was true especially for Jewish families, but for Monument Avenue residents in general, was a constant wave of movement westward. The Strauses, for instance, moved from an apartment in the 2600 block to a new home at No. 3310 in 1936, reportedly duplicating the floor plan because "they loved their apartment, but were unhappy with the noise of the neighbors' children."[120] For families such as the Strauses, a move such as this was a move toward greater stability, as they became owners instead of renters. Monument Avenue had begun as a westward projection out into Henrico County, and as the years passed, the most modern, most fashionable addresses continued to be at the farther edges of development. However, this trend met--and in some ways clashed with--economic and social shifts that would become dramatically visible on the avenue after the Depression and World War II. Moves toward smaller, more suburban homes combined with a growing population of apartment dwellers on the avenue. All of these changes are most noticeable west of Boulevard, where the 2800 block marks

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[117]Exhibition poster, Jewish Life on Monument Avenue exhibit, Temple Beth Ahabah, 1991. Photographs at the exhibit suggest that social interaction and intermarriage on the avenue among Beth Ahabah members were primarily defined by, if not limited to, the Jewish community.

[118]Rosenbaum, 8.

[119]Held, 265 footnote.

[120]Rosenbaum, 9.

a striking change from the preceding blocks with its north side consisting entirely of multi-family structures.

Apartment buildings appear in profusion along Monument only west of Boulevard; on the east end, most apartments are either three-story flats scattered among similarly designed one-family houses, or grandiose buildings such as Stuart Court, the Rixey, or the Brooke. Although apartment buildings never dominated more than a few blocks of the avenue, they represented a significant alternative to single-family living in the late 1910s and 1920s: by 1927, apartment houses were the leading new form of residence in Richmond.[121] There was at least one apartment building on the avenue as early as 1910. Three families lived in the Stafford at No. 2007 in 1910: the Sycles, the Hessbergs, and the Strauses, all members of Temple Beth Ahabah. Sycle may well have owned the Stafford; in 1915 he built and lived in the Lawrence across the street at No. 2018. Like Rosa Hexter on the 2800 block and Manie Lipscomb at Rixey Court, Sycle lived in his own apartments, a pattern typical of the lower-density buildings. Speculative builders such as the Davis Brothers tended to build two or three apartment houses in a row, often with six or more living units each.

The most elaborate apartments (and some of the most elegant buildings) on the avenue include the Stuart Court Apartments on Stuart Circle and the Rixey Court at 2235 Monument. Although like many apartments on the avenue they were built during the 1920s, they fit comfortably into the lower east end of Monument, clearly designed for apartment-dwellers who could afford high rents. The Rixey Court offered the kind of luxury and square footage that many homeowners would aspire to, while Stuart Court apartments were promoted for their modern conveniences.

However, the tenants of apartments on Monument--whether living at Stuart Court or one of the less distinguished buidings such as the Flavius at No. 2900--appear to have belonged to a different sector than early homeowners. Men and women who lived in apartments on Monument tended to fall into the second tier of professional occupations, just as boarders--including a bank clerk, salesmen, and a school teacher--had in 1910. Clerks and telephone operators and travelling salesmen began flocking to the avenue; apartments became an affordable alternative to living with one's parents in the period between adolescence and marriage.[122]

By the time the Depression hit in 1929, most of the avenue east of Roseneath was built: the final block was beginning to fill in, and the bulk of the architectural fabric east of Tilden was in place. A flurry of building activity at the end of the 1920s included four apartment buildings making up the block between Wayne and Belmont, several large houses on the north side of the 3200 block, and the matching cottages on the south side of the 3100 block. The cottages in particular represented a new trend on the avenue, with their distinctively small-scale facades and floor plans, and architect Carl Lindner's modest interpretation of Mediterranean style. In plan, the lots from Nos. 3117 to 3133 face squarely not on Monument, but on Franklin, which veers off the avenue at Belmont; the planning confusion around the intersection resulted in the cottages

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[121] Richmond was following national trends, with 45.7 percent of families moving into apartments, 9.4 percent into two-family dwellings, and 44.9 percent into one-family houses (contrasting from 78.1 percent in 1921). "Apartment House Leads All Forms of Residence in City, Survey Shows," Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 27, 1928.

[122] 1910 Census, Richmond City Directories.

Figure 51 Manie Y. Lipscomb commissioned architect Bascom J. Rowlett to design the Rixey Court apartments at 2235 Monument Ave. in 1924. Boucher, HABS.

fronting on Monument, but uniquely angled to accommodate the lot shapes. The first residents included a traveling salesman, a buyer, a merchandise broker, and an insurance company manager--occupations of the class often associated during this period with apartment dwellers on the avenue.

Despite the influx of apartments and smaller houses on the avenue west of Boulevard, however, Monument held its own as a prestigious neighborhood well into the 1930s. Federal statistics from 1934 show Monument Avenue as a high-income strip running through the solidly upper-middle-class Fan District, and census tracts that included the avenue were consistently among the lowest in the city for statistics such as households on relief, infant mortality, tuberculosis, and delinquency.[123] However, there is little question that the Depression hit Monument Avenue hard, and many self-made businessmen undoubtedly suffered great losses at the peak of their success. Whitmell S. Forbes, whose mansion stood just the other side of Roseneath, lost everything with the crash and moved out in 1931, leaving his servants behind.

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[123]Blocks averaging incomes in the highest bracket ($50,000 and up) made up most of Monument Avenue, parts of West Franklin, and a suburban neighborhood north of Brookland Parkway; most of the Fan District consisted of houses in the next income bracket ($30,000-$49,990). The four census tracts covering Monument and the upper block of West Franklin--W9 (Harrison to Allen/Floyd to Broad), W13 (Allen to Boulevard/Stuart to Broad), W16 (Boulevard to Cleveland/Kensington-Patterson to Broad), and W18 (Cleveland to city limit/Hanover to Broad)--were consistently lower in relief, mortality, and crime statistics than the rest of the western tracts, which in turn were lower than the city's average. "Rental Map of Richmond," based on Federal Housing Administration statistics, 1934, pamphlet in Housing 1931-1959 file, Richmond Public Library, Richmond.

Forbes at one time owned a fleet of twenty cars and paved a block of Monument Avenue at his own expense; in the end the property was said to have sold for less than the original cost of the chandeliers.[124]

Almost nothing was built on the avenue after 1930, a dramatic drop-off from the late 1920s. The Church of Christ Scientist languished unfinished during the Depression, and two houses, at Nos. 1800 and 3102, were begun in 1929 but not occupied until 1931. Construction of the lavish William Bottomley-designed house at No. 1800 was begun just before the stock market crash. Only one other house, at No. 3310, was built before World War II, in 1937; it stands today as a dark, somewhat forboding version of Depression-era Tudor Revival.

Stuart Circle Hospital apparently suffered less during the Depression than many businesses, and in 1931 built a home for eighty nurses on West Avenue at an estimated cost of $100,000. During the 1940s-50s, however, plans to add a new wing were postponed from 1941 to 1954; minor additions were completed in 1945, but neighborhood opposition stalled the 150-bed wing and new nursery for another ten years. The problem was essentially a question of zoning, one of many public policy issues affecting Monument Avenue to come under scrutiny and dispute during the 1960s-70s.[125]

After World War II, the few empty lots on Monument Avenue filled up piecemeal, with lackluster examples of post-war domestic architecture. For the most part, houses and apartments built on Monument east of Roseneath from the late 1940s through the 1960s make vague references to Colonial Revival styles, but from a pared down, modernist vocabulary. Today, they stand in stark constrast to the enduring rich fabric of the earlier avenue, while beyond Roseneath stretch miles of semi-suburban residential strip. Monument Avenue bore witness to some of the most dramatic changes in family life that came in the second part of this century. After the war, many of the avenue's children came home to find that "the big houses of old Monument Avenue were too large for them," according to journalist Edith Lindeman.

> As the decades rolled around and their own children were grown, some of them returned to take up residence in one of the apartment houses. But most of them went elsewhere, because Monument Avenue--the older part, that is--is no longer a comfortable haven for that very generation that remembers most and loves best the Monument Avenue of the not-so-distant past. . . . "It's pretty toward the West, but the rest of it's like New York--a nice place to visit, but I don't want to live there anymore."[126]

Complaints about the state of the avenue encompassed almost every aspect of its physical and social characteristics, but almost always focused on change, or perceived change, away from an earlier and more idyllic state. In 1949 a "flurry of protest" greeted the floodlighting of General Lee; thirty years later a similar contingency worried about the possibility of "pink monsters on

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[124]Sam Richardson, quoted in Neil November, "I remember when . . . ," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 29, 1949.

[125]"Stuart Court Hospital Will Add Two New Units," Richmond News Leader, March 10, 1930, 13; "Stuart Court Plans to Add Hospital Wing," Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 26, 1941, sec. 1, p. 14; "Stuart Court Adding Rooms for 10 Patients," Richmond News Leader, July 20, 1945, 3; "Stuart Court Hospital is Granted Permission to Build an Addition," Richmond Times-Dispatch, March 4, 1954, 2; "Stuart Court Hospital Opens New Wing," Richmond News Leader, January 2, 1956, 25.

[126]Lindeman, "Richmond's State of Mind."

traditional lamp posts" for the new street lights on the avenue. At one point, the chief of city parks railed against joggers on Monument, saying "we are making a playroom out of our most beautiful area, and I think that's wrong." In 1969 Alfred P. Jenkins, the owner of "considerable real estate in Richmond," threatened to sell it all because the city government had allowed Monument Avenue to become a "cheap expressway," with "unsafe streets, dilapidated housing, and intolerable traffic conditions." Jenkins had been burglarized twice and attacked in his garden, and he cited doctors' offices along with low-rent apartments as symptoms of the avenue's degeneration.[127]

By the end of the 1960s, many of Monument's stately houses had been cut into apartments, or otherwise modified for use as professional offices or institutions. They were too large, too old, and too much a part of the city, for families that yearned for suburban ideals of safety, modern conveniences, and big lawns. Some owners put up doors and partitions and started boarding houses of ill repute, others dropped the ceilings, covered the wood paneling, and turned their houses into nursing homes. The grandest house on the avenue, the Branch House at No. 2501, was conveyed to a non-profit corporation in the 1950s. Only on the 2300 block, with the avenue's prize houses, did Monument Avenue homeowners remain in great numbers. One of the hardest blows to residents who remembered the avenue in its earlier days must have been the construction in 1955 of a one-story, modernist, steel and glass doctor's office at 2016 Monument, in the middle of a block where the last house had been completed by 1915.

The most colorful controversy of the era was not, however, about architecture, but rather over asphalt. In September 1968, Helen Marie Taylor, a former actress and owner of the extravagant Italianate villa at 2325 Monument, put her body in front of the asphalt-laying machine that threatened to smooth over the avenue's original paving blocks. What ensued was dubbed by Edith Lindeman as the "great battle of the Belgian blocks," a months-long struggle between the city government and homeowner forces led by Taylor. Extensively covered by the media, the fight pitted those who argued for a smoother street at mimimum cost against those who evoked the historic value and integrity of Monument Avenue's original paving stones. The fight took place amid an atmosphere of development proposals: throughout the 1960s, there were rumors of city plans to widen the avenue to accommodate traffic, to add monuments, to move the monuments, to cut down the trees. News stories, letters to the editor, full-page advertisements, and six-hour public hearings with expert witnesses debated the issue well into 1969. Eventually Taylor's group won out, and new blocks were laid.[128]

From the moment it was first proposed in the nineteenth century, Monument Avenue became the focus of numerous struggles over the control of aesthetic and memorial

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[127]Edith Lindeman, "The Monuments: Stately Statues Endure Despite Periodic Debates," Oct. 5, 1969; Steve Clark, "Diversions: Street Party in Distress," n.d.; Virginia Churn, "Jogging Seen as Minus and Plus," n.d.; "Resident Would Sell City Holdings," Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 26, 1969, newspaper clippings in Monument Avenue verticle file, Valentine Museum, Richmond.

Interestingly, one of the most silent protests was apparently directed at an aspect of the avenue that had changed very little since its inception: in 1965, vandals smeared the faces of the Lee and Davis statues with black paint, an incident that seems to have received little comment in the press. Lindeman, "The Monuments."

[128]James Davis, "City Council Grants Delay in Paving Monument Avenue, Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 24, 1969; James W. Seymour Jr., "Paving Block Fuss May Flare Up Again" [Richmond Times-Dispatch?], Jan. 3, 1969, clippings, Monument Avenue vertical file, Valentine Museum, Richmond.

representation in the civic arena. In the 1960s, the debates took on a new level of significance, for beneath the fight over paving blocks vs. asphalt was the larger issue of the meaning of historic conservation. Added to the question of Monument Avenue's future was the question of its past, with the attendant debates over what deserved preservation, and what must necessarily change. By the 1970s, the struggle had evolved into civic celebration in both the symbolic arena of the street and the back rooms of political committees, as several organizations and commissions formed to decide the fate of the avenue. The United Daughters of the Confederacy continued old traditions of commemorating important Confederate events on the avenue, such as Jefferson Davis's birthday, while concerned homeowners and architectural preservationists began to agitate for stricter regulations on house renovations and design considerations such as paint color. Groups such as the Monument Avenue Preservation Society sponsored huge festivals on the avenue with musicians, crafts, and food, and simultaneously pressured the local and state governments to recognize Monument Avenue as a historic district.

Members of preservation groups were not, by and large, long-term residents of the avenue or descendants of original owners.[129] They were, rather, a new generation of professionals who found in Monument Avenue a wealth of history and of architecture, both physical and symbolic. By the 1990s, an astounding number of Monument Avenue residents were well-versed in the facts and the lore of the street's development, and several had embarked on restorations that led to research projects documenting their own house's original plans, decoration, and occupants. For many homeowners, living on Monument was a means of reclaiming the past, of celebrating the history of an avenue that had itself been built to commemorate an era long gone. At the same time, of necessity, the avenue's promoters were intensely aware of current real estate politics and land values, much as the avenue's first developers were. In the 1990s, Monument Avenue realtors faced a challenge in many ways parallel to that of their predecessors a century before: both drew upon images and ideals of a heroic past, even as they planned for a profitable future.

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[129] The few residents who did have ties to original owners were well known along the avenue, and included John Kerr Branch's granddaughter Zayde Dotts. Interestingly, Dotts moved to the avenue in the early 1960s, and was spurred to organize when the city threatened to widen the avenue: "We had to do something to make the city realize it was a neighborhood." She helped stage the first festival in 1973, and was involved in several groups devoted to architectural preservation. Zayde Dotts, interview.

CHAPTER 3: THE ARCHITECTURE
by Toni Prawl

Reflecting the aspirations of the new professional and business elite that chose Monument Avenue as its home, the architecture of Monument Avenue has two aspects that will be discussed in this chapter: the design and the designers. The architectural design was predetermined by the land subdivision and prevailing architectural customs, which resulted in town house and mansion forms. The forms then dictated the internal plan, although careful arrangement was necessary to accommodate ideals of private and public space. The styles applied to these forms are the avenue-dwellers' most explicit statement of social acceptability, exhibiting safe academic revival styles. The unusual harmony of styles and compatibility of forms of the buildings on the avenue derive from the homeowners' unspoken understanding of appropriate architecture, as well as the professional training and interlocking relationships of Monument Avenue's architects. Through speculative construction, repeated commissions, and occasional residence on the avenue, the architects and builders were part of Monument Avenue's social and developmental framework.

THE DESIGN OF THE BUILDINGS

Particularly at the eastern end of Monument Avenue, the houses reflect their urban location. Town houses--economically occupying narrow lots--were interspersed with mansions--freestanding buildings that make statements of wealth and status. As Monument Avenue developed to the west, other forms were added, including more compact mansions and smaller cottages aimed at smaller pocketbooks. All these forms exhibited a consciousness of their location on Monument Avenue and in the city.

Urban dwellings are limited by the size of their lots, as street frontage is expensive and lots tend to be narrow and long. The solution in many cities is the row house, where alignments of privately owned houses share party walls, with only front and back walls exposed to light and air. Monument Avenue builders shunned the row house, but erected freestanding town houses of similar form, simply without shared walls.[1] This house form was one of the first to appear on Monument Avenue, continuing a pattern established in the urban area of Franklin Street; they were particularly dominant in the Allen Addition, where lots were uniformly 30' wide.

Town house design, like row house design, involves a careful use of scarce light and air. If a building is two rooms deep, the rooms can obtain light and air from the front and back. But if the house is any deeper, the challenge is to ventilate and illuminate the middle rooms. The town house design solved this dilemma, to a certain extent, by providing enough space between buildings to place windows in the side walls. But the houses were so close--5' or less apart--that minimal light infiltrated the interior.[2] Accordingly, the rear rooms--usually the service wing--were narrower than the main block of the house, allowing a window to be put in the rear wall of the main block. Even when the width of the lots was ample, homeowners preferred that windows in the back room faced the rear garden rather than the neighbor's house.

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[1]The only row houses are in the 2200 block of Monument Avenue.

[2]Richmond architect Robert Winthrop suggested that the side windows of these closely spaced houses profited from the Venturi principle, that air flows at a greater speed when its passage is decreased from a larger to narrower path.

Figure 52 Town houses line the north side of the 1600 block of Monument Avenue, where the first houses were built in 1893. Boucher, HABS.

Mansions could be built on wider lots. These freestanding houses--with side walls that were designed and meant to be seen--were larger and more horizontal than the town houses. The facade was as wide, or wider, as it was tall. Colonial Revival-style residences in this form appeared on Monument Avenue later than the town-house type; some of the most noteworthy examples were not built until the mid 1920s. Lots larger than 30' wide enabled homeowners to consider a variety of floor plans. These broad and rectangular blocks, usually two rooms wide with a generous central passage, also had fewer projections on the front facade than their town house counterparts.

Most houses were considerably smaller than the mansions. When lots were not spacious enough (or pockets were not deep enough) to provide clients with fully developed Georgian plans, designs could be reduced to a fraction of the original scheme. The "two-thirds" house plan was a common outcome. As its name implied, this form was an abbreviated variation of the Georgian configuration of a center hall flanked by two rooms. On the front facade, these residences appeared to be "two-thirds" of the larger, traditional form. Although wider than town houses, they retained the same general plan, a hall on one side and rooms aligned on the other. The proportions, however, were closer to that of the mansion, resulting in a boxier form. Another variation was a small cottage. Only two rooms deep, without extensive rear ells, these modest houses were designed for the burgeoning middle class in search of a suburban experience. Dating mostly from the 1920s, they are located at the western end of the Monument Avenue study area.

Although quantitatively dominated by houses, Monument Avenue is visually dominated, in places, by institutional buildings--specifically churches and a hospital. Usually designed in Gothic

or Classical Revival modes, these large institutional buildings have a wholly different form and massing than the houses. The churches try to use spacious sites to create an architectural impact and buffer the house of worship from its secular neighbors. More recent needs for church-related meeting halls and classrooms have caused many of the churches to build out their lots, thus diminishing the green, open surroundings. Multi-family buildings, too, are often over-sized, such as the nine-story Stuart Court Apartments. Constructed to produce income, even the smaller apartment buildings tend to fill their sites, leaving only enough space to provide adequate light and air. They fill their sites vertically as well, being usually three stories tall in a two-story neighborhood. Although the forms of these institutional and apartment buildings often seem incompatible with the overall residential quality and scale of the avenue, they do not overwhelm the houses, which unite to form impressive street walls.

Town houses, mansions, and apartment buildings often have front porches to enliven the street wall. Ranging from three-tier projections on three-story apartment houses, to modest one-story porticoes on Colonial Revival houses, the porches provide an intermediate indoor/outdoor space. Implicitly encouraging residents to linger in front of their houses and become a part of the street life, the porches add visual interest even when unoccupied.

The forms of Monument Avenue houses lend themselves to certain styles, exhibited in the exterior ornament as well as proportions and massing. The town-house form, built primarily in the earlier, eastern blocks of the avenue, was compatible with picturesque revival styles such as the Queen Anne and Richardsonian Romanesque. Semicircular and polygonal bay windows and towers, textured surfaces of rusticated stone, round-arched windows, and stained glass are arranged for full effect on the tall and narrow facades of town houses. Dating mostly from the first two decades of the avenue's existence, though, these styles were soon superseded by others.

Figure 53 Houses on the south side of the 2000 block of Monument Avenue display a variety of front porches. The two-level porch on the right belongs to the Stafford Apartments at 2007 Monument Ave., built in 1909. Boucher, HABS.

With the turn of the twentieth century, academic revival styles gained increased popularity with the American public and found a particular welcome on Monument Avenue, whose era of development coincided with the styles' popularity. Builders' and architects' predilection for academic styles, particularly the Colonial Revival, was more than an accident of timing, but also traded on the Colonial Revival's association with the American past, an ideological mantle readily donned by Richmond's New South industrialists, as explored in Chapter 1.

The academic styles were strict adaptations of past modes, far more rigorously applied than the picturesque styles of the late nineteenth century.[3] On Monument Avenue, designers and clients preferred the Colonial Revival, marked by red brick, slate roofs, symmetrically arranged windows and, often, columned porticoes. Other periods were revived as well: Spanish Colonial, Tudor, French Renaissance, and Italian Renaissance. The forms of the buildings were largely the same as the Colonial Revival, except that the Spanish Colonial and Tudor Revival styles often attempted an irregular plan, with ells in the front. The plans of all the academic styles were largely the same, with the lot size determining the placement of the entrance halls, and careful interior spatial organization insuring social respectability.

Figure 54 Modillioned cornices, brick quoining, and columned porches are some of the Neoclassical features of these houses at 1834 Monument Ave., on the left, and No. 1832, right of it. Boucher, HABS.

Another characteristic of the academic styles was a large scale, as exhibited by the house at 2301 Monument Ave. Built in 1925 to designs by William L. Bottomley, the house has a three-bay front. Nearly 50' across the front, the building could have accommodated five bays, but the facade is generously scaled. The wide lots on Monument Avenue encouraged some of the larger mansions to expand. When Colonial Revival-style houses were placed on narrower lots, the "two-thirds" house resulted: a town house at the scale of a colonial mansion.

Applied ornament also found new favor with academic styles. Unlike the picturesque revival styles, where the stylistic expression was often incorporated into the wall surfaces--such as

[3]This discussion of the characteristics of academic styles is indebted to Alan Gowans, Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 216.

Figure 55 The half-timbered, stuccoed Tudor mansion at 2023 Monument Ave. was designed by architect Carl K. Howell in 1908. Today the house is painted white and stands vacant. Valentine Museum.

textured materials or projecting bays--the academic styles relied on flat surfaces with applied ornament, usually in a contrasting material. The facades of Monument Avenue houses were often red brick (as befits Colonial Revival) but occasionally stone (Italian or French Renaissance) or stucco (Spanish Colonial). Ornament was not integral, but was always added as an identifying feature: wood cornices or columned porticoes, tile roofs and ironwork, quoining and pedimented doorways, respectively.

Although the style of a house is its most immediate advertisement, once inside other considerations come into play. The plan and decoration of the rooms announce their function and guide occupants' behavior. Although the general layout is determined by its form, the internal organization of a house is a complex design problem, involving the circulation of people, distribution of light and air, and provision of mechanical systems. Another role of spatial arrangement involved zoning the house into public, private, and service areas. Ideally, servants would be omnipresent but invisible; back stairs and hallways helped avoid confrontations, and service wings, with servants living directly over the areas where they worked, insulated homeowners from the servants' lives. The first floor of the house was generally the public area, available to invited visitors, while the second floor was the family's private living space. This hierarchy was reinforced by the finishes of the walls, decorative elements and, of course,

furnishings. Hallways allowed each room to be reached without passing through other rooms, insuring the occupants' privacy.

The floor plans for the W. J. Whitehurst residence at 1832 Monument Ave. represent a typical side-hall-plan, town-house configuration. Designed by Noland and Baskervill in 1906, the house is 29' wide x 81' deep on a 35'-wide lot. On one side, a 4'-6"-wide walk lines the house, while on the other, only 1'-6" separates this house from the next property. The first floor has a wide stair hall and reception area at the entrance on the left of the house, with three public rooms aligned on the right. The parlor and library have the same dimensions, 15' x 16', while the dining room, behind the library, is slightly larger than the others. This trio of rooms and the hall are connected by sliding pocket doors, permitting an easy flow of people. The middle space, the library, would be dark, lit only by windows in the side wall, but the wide openings between the library and adjacent rooms increase the natural light. An elliptical arch divides the entrance hall from the stairhall. Each of the three rooms as well as the entrance hall have a fireplace--largely for display, not as the sole source of heat.

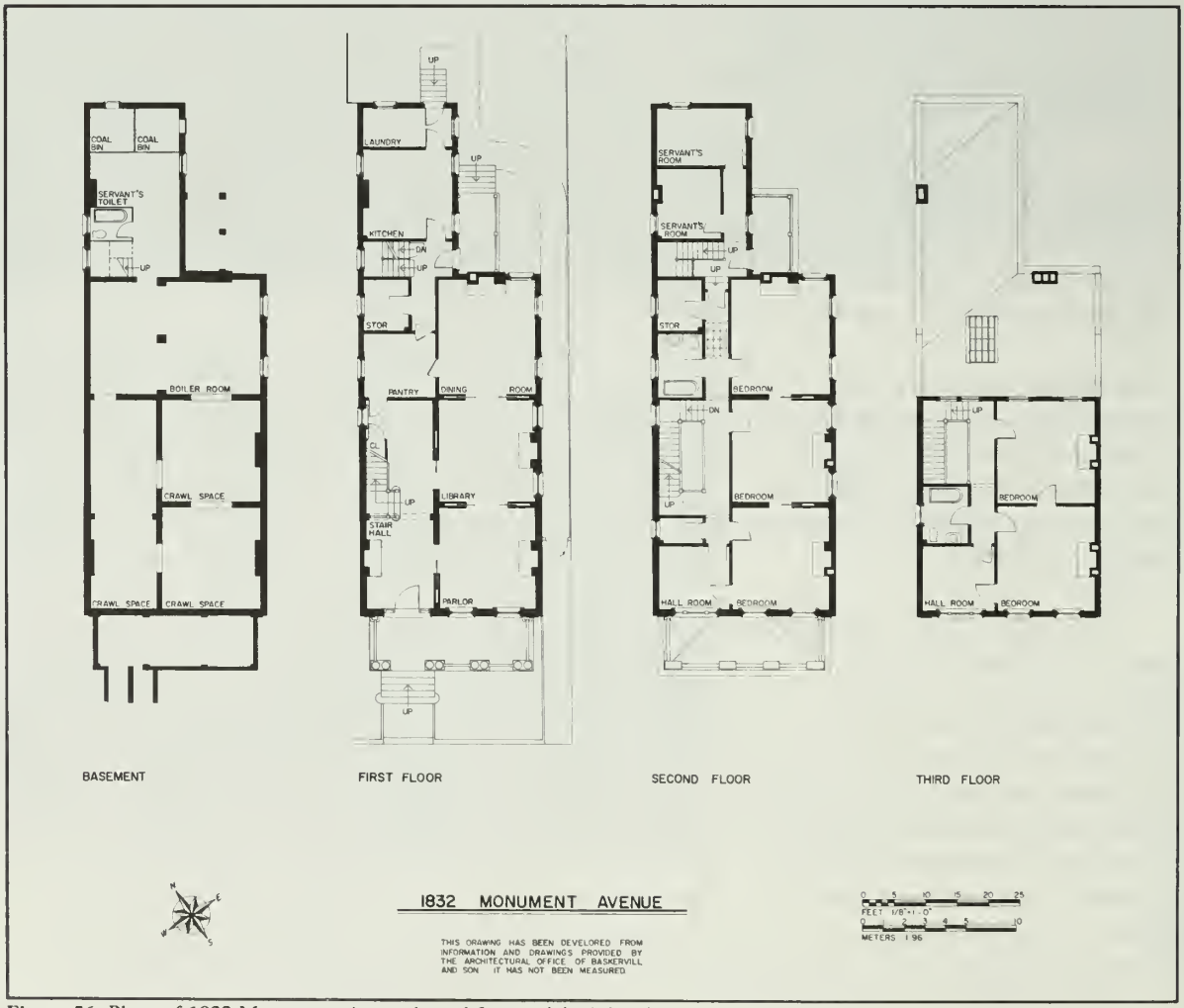

Figure 56 Plans of 1832 Monument Ave., adapted from original drawings. Spodek, HABS.

Figure 57 Architects Noland and Baskervill designed the house at 1832 Monument Ave. for William J. Whitehurst in 1906. Boucher, HABS.

The rest of the rooms on the first floor are for service. The pantry, complete with china closet, plate warmer, sink, and additional storage cabinet, abuts the public rooms of the stair hall and dining room, as well as a narrow passage past the storeroom to the kitchen. The passage intersects a rear stair hall and widens at the back entrance to form a secondary or service entrance. A laundry room is situated at the very back of the house, just beyond the kitchen. These two back rooms have a lower ceiling than the rest of the first floor.

Upstairs, directly above the parlor, library, and dining room are three bedrooms, each equipped with a fireplace and radiator. A second-story hall room is situated above the downstairs hall; however, plumbing fixtures are outlined (with the architect's note, "tub, w.c. & wash basin not in contract") for future conversion into a bathroom. The stair hall is again set off by elliptical arches. A closet borders the hall room while a passage surrounding the stairwell leads to a full bathroom opposite the back bedroom. The passage is lit by a skylight and continues back beyond a closet to the rear stair hall, beyond which are two servants' bedrooms. The service wing is lower than the rest of the second floor, reinforcing its subsidiary role. Thus, above the first-floor public rooms are bedrooms for the homeowners, while above the service areas are servants' rooms. The two bedrooms on the third floor follow the same configuration as the rooms below them. Equipped with fireplaces and a bathroom, they are intended for the homeowner's family.

Built in 1906, this house was provided with combination gas and electric light fixtures throughout, suggesting that electrical service was still not wholly dependable, or that perhaps some residents were more reluctant to abandon gas lighting than others.[4] In his 1890 annual report, city gas works superintendent W. C. Adams realized, "the electric light is still making

[4]Electricity had been in use in Richmond homes for more than ten years before houses were built on Monument Avenue. Maymont, the Dooley estate, was one of the first Richmond houses built with electrical service in the 1890s. Given the ten- to fifteen-year lag, it is likely there were other reasons that the "new" technology was not preferred. Robert Winthrop posited the theory that electric trolleys in the neighborhood might have frequently interrupted domestic electrical services, but further investigation is needed.

considerable inroads upon our large consumer . . . This light has come to stay and all gas men had just as well reconcile themselves to this fact and act accordingly."[5] The heating system was apparently hot-water radiators, with a coal-fired boiler in the basement. By the early 1910s gas ranges prevailed in the kitchen. Architectural drawings dated 1913 by Marcellus Wright for the John S. Munce residence at 2324 Monument Ave. showed two stoves in the kitchen, both a coal and gas range. According to the annual report of Richmond's gas works, Superintendent W. P. Knowles fostered the use of gas in the last decade of the nineteenth century by promoting other applications for the energy source. He encouraged homeowners to use gas for cooking and adopted a policy that ensured gas stoves and hot-water heaters would be connected at no cost for customers who purchased them. In providing this free service, the city installed 146 gas stoves in

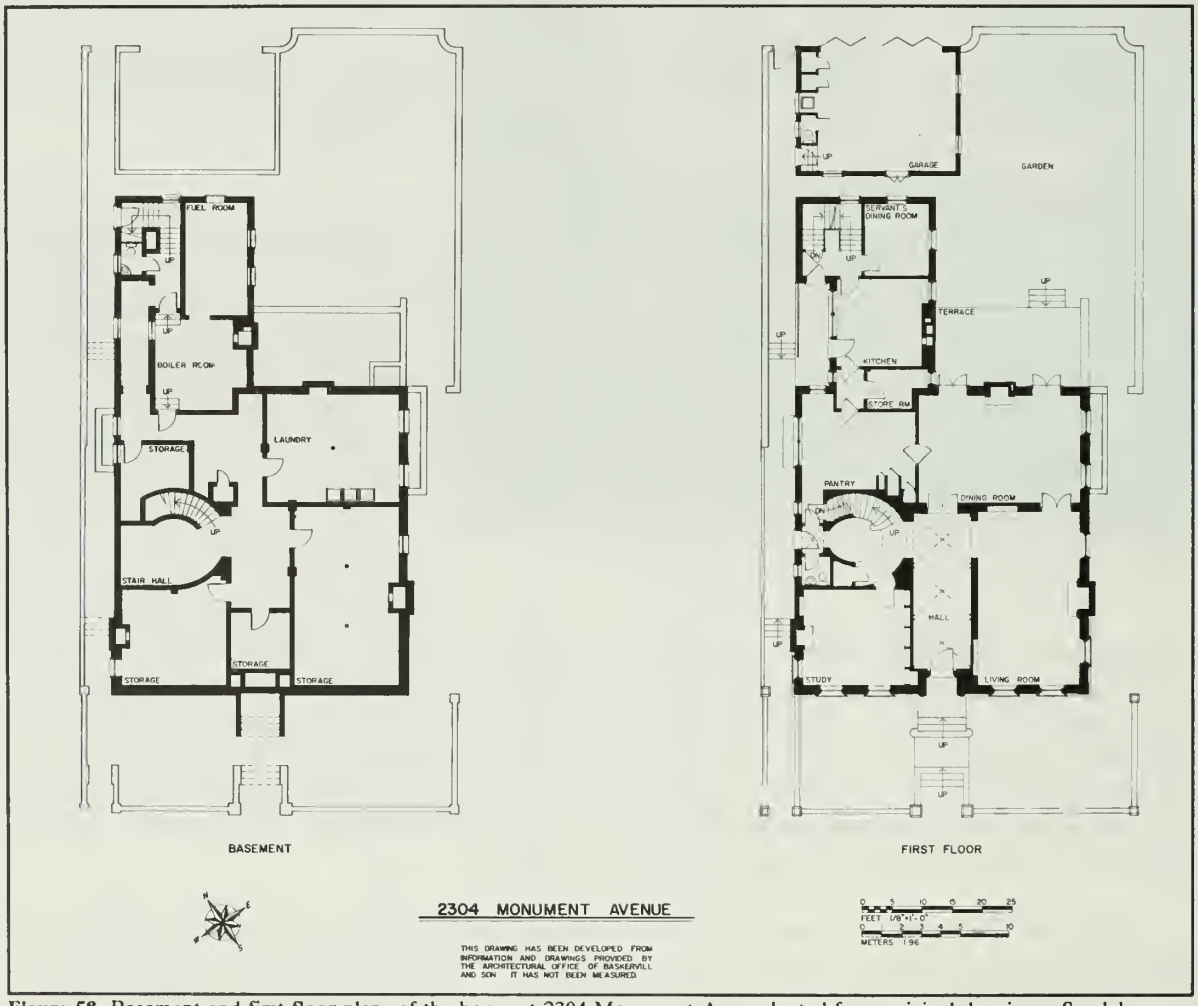

Figure 58 Basement and first-floor plans of the house at 2304 Monument Ave., adapted from original drawings. Spodek, HABS.

[5]Department of Public Utilities, The Story of Richmond Gas Works Annual Report (Richmond, Virginia: Department of Public Utilities, 1935), 36.

1900. The number of connections increased annually until a new record high was reached in 1917, with 4,112 stoves connected that year.[6]

The Whitehurst house was slightly wider than many town houses, with a generous stair hall, 10'-6" wide. But the configuration was typical, with a side hall and a line of rooms. Other town-house plans occasionally featured openings with columns or elliptical arches instead of sliding doors between rooms; built-in furniture such as a seat incorporated into the stair hall design; bay windows in the front or back; and half-bathrooms on first levels. Plans for basements were regularly drawn with a half-bath designated for servants' use, as there was here.

The general floor plan of the mansions on Monument Avenue reflects a more symmetrical arrangement with a central entrance and hall. These plans were designed on the order of their colonial and Georgian predecessors with a priority to even, bilateral organization. Few, if any, Monument Avenue houses exactly replicate the centuries-old plan, but several suggest it.

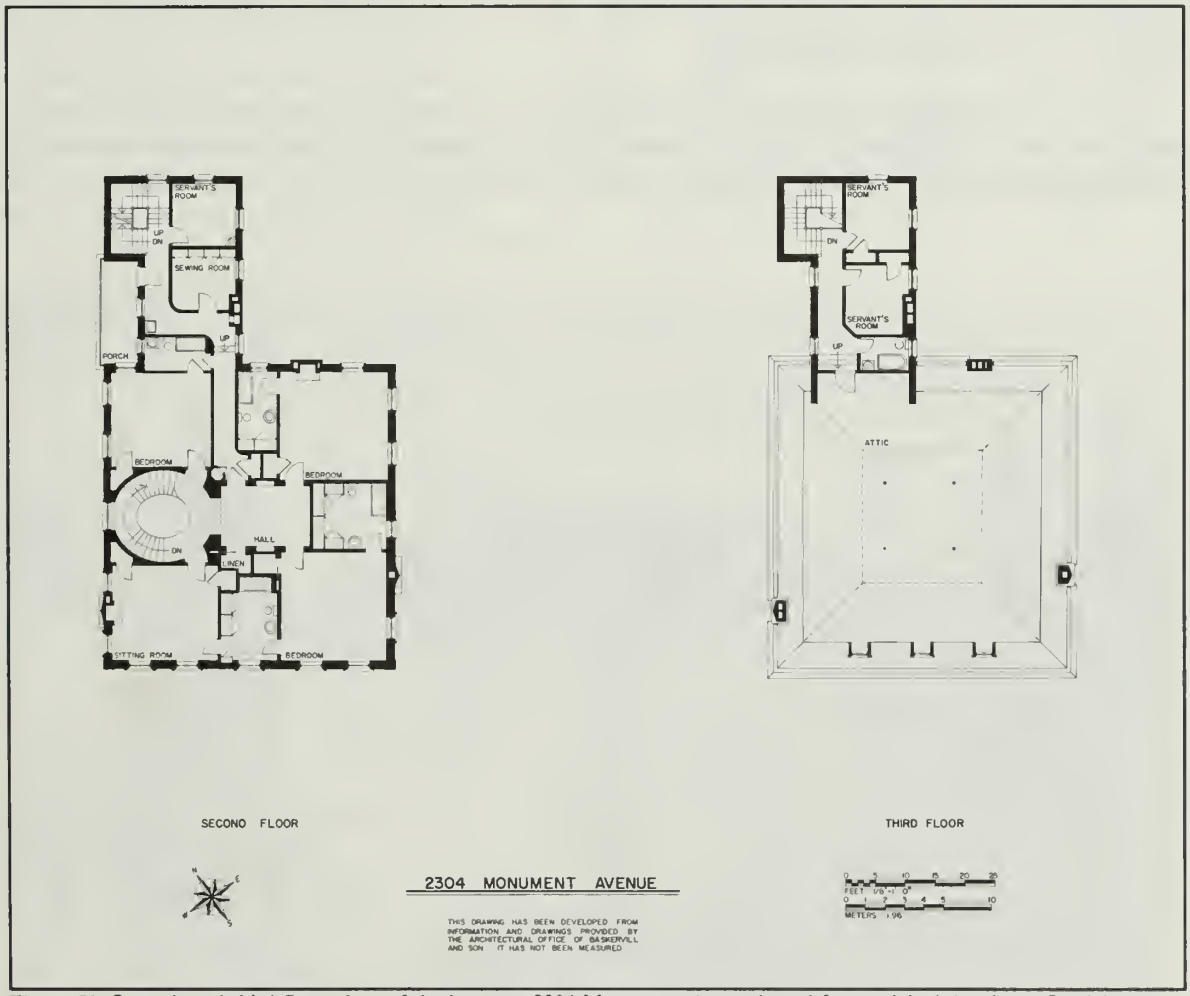

Figure 59 Second- and third-floor plans of the house at 2304 Monument Ave., adapted from original drawings. Spodek, HABS.

[6]Department of Public Utilities, 40-41.

Residences of this type were intended to appear formally balanced on the outside, while the interior organization concealed their complicated social nature. This is exemplified by the Dr. Stuart McGuire house at 2304 Monument, designed by Baskervill and Lambert in 1924. Although the house boasts a symmetrical five-bay front facade with a center door, the internal plan is not so orderly. McGuire's vaulted entrance hall is flanked by rooms of nearly equal width, a study and living room, but behind the study is the outstanding feature in the house--the elliptical stair hall. Preliminary plans dated March 1924 reveal a rectangular hall, but Baskervill insisted on the spiral design, which was shown on revised drawings four months later. The 25'-long hall culminates at the dining room, where public regions of the house abut service-related regions such as the butler's pantry and kitchen. The pantry is designed with attention to various tasks that take place in the room: a press for storage, a broom closet with tiled floor, a clothes chute to deposit soiled laundry near the washroom in the basement, and a plate warmer. The kitchen is equipped with storage space, but is also designed to accommodate an electric range and incinerator for waste. The back region of the house, containing the kitchen, storeroom, service porch, servants' dining room, and rear stair hall, projects from the house in an ell. There is less than 4' between the back wall of the house and the garage.

On the second floor, the dominating elliptical stair and central hall are surrounded by four rooms, each with a bathroom. A narrow passage on the second floor leads to the service wing, two steps lower, which contains a sewing room, rear porch and hall, and servant's bedroom. The

Figure 60 Dr. Stuart McGuire commissioned the stone-clad house at 2304 Monument Ave. in 1924. Boucher, HABS.

McGuire house contains approximately 7,100 square feet of finished space, of which nearly 30 percent is allotted for service. The McGuires' five servants could be summoned by an intercom system and bells, original to the house.[7] The house was lavishly finished, with gum paneling in the living room, cypress panelling in the study, and stairs finished in mahogany. The house was fully wired and equipped with telephones. The only gas lines went to the kitchen range and laundry dryer.

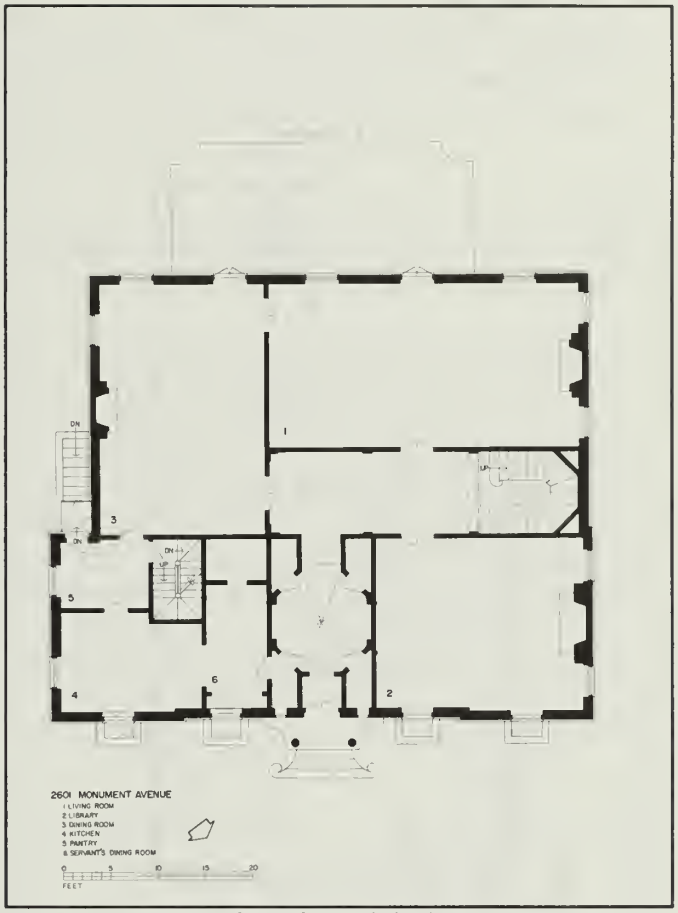

Figure 61 Although the front of the building bears a resemblance to that at No. 2304, the plan of 2601 Monument Ave. is very different. First-floor plan, based on measurements. Dolinsky, HABS.

With its wide lot, a mansion allowed for great flexibility in plan, including projections on the sides, irregular-shaped rooms, and longitudinal stairways. One of the most startling departures was that of 2601 Monument Ave., a center-hall, Colonial Revival-style mansion designed by William Lawrence Bottomley in 1924. Instead of putting the service area in a rear wing, as was common, Bottomley placed it in a front corner of the house; the rest of the floor contained three public rooms, one in each corner of the center-hall plan. All pretense of symmetry dropped, however, with the four-bay fronts. As demonstrated by Nos. 2320 and 2714, both also designed by Bottomley, very different floorplans could be used. Both houses are in the Colonial Revival style, with slate-covered hip roofs and Flemish-bond brick facades, but the different placement of the door introduces different internal arrangements.

Although the McGuire house was certainly an opulent mansion, there was one house on Monument Avenue even grander. The Branch House at 2501, designed by John Russell Pope and completed in 1919, had 28,000 square feet of space and cost $160,000 to build. Many of the house's twenty-eight rooms had specialized uses, including art galleries on the first and second floors, eight guest rooms and seven guest baths, separate retiring rooms for ladies and gentlemen, a library, a chapel, a servants' hall, three servants' baths, and individual storage rooms (not pantries) for groceries, wine, trunks and rugs.[8]

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[7]Benjamin Warthen recalled that when Dr. McGuire and his wife lived in the house (1924-55), there was a period when their five full-time servants received approximately $5 a week each. When Warthen was a child growing up in the house, his parents employed one maid for $25 a week.

[8]William B. O'Neal, "The Multiple Life of Space," Arts in Virginia 5 (Spring 1965): 2-11.

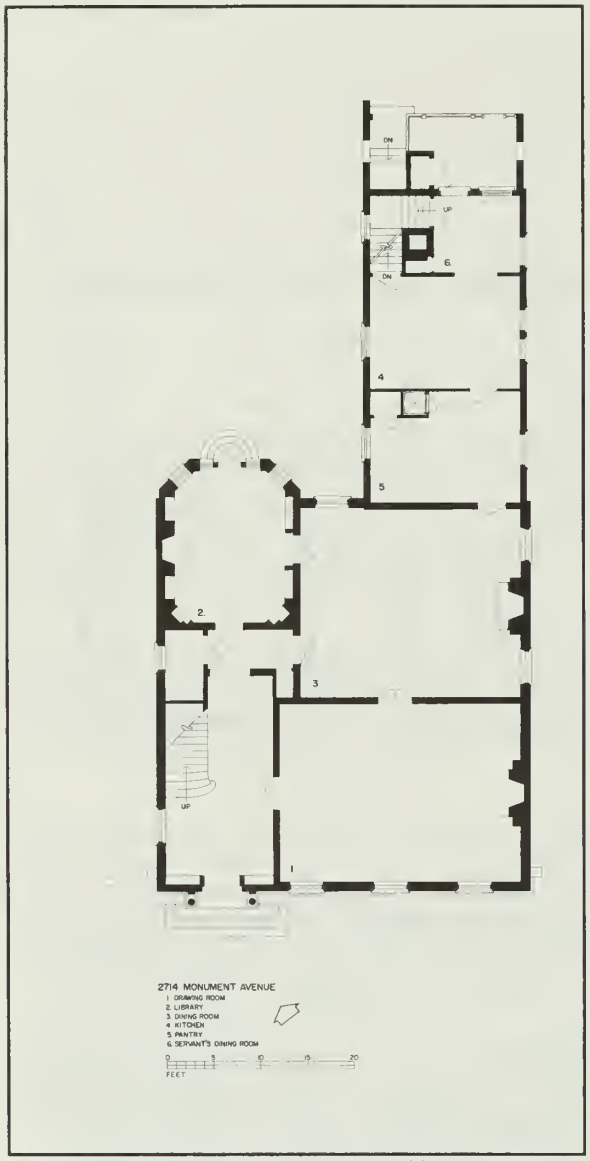

Figure 62 First-floor plan of the house at 2714 Monument Ave., designed by William Lawrence Bottomley in 1928. Dolinsky, HABS.

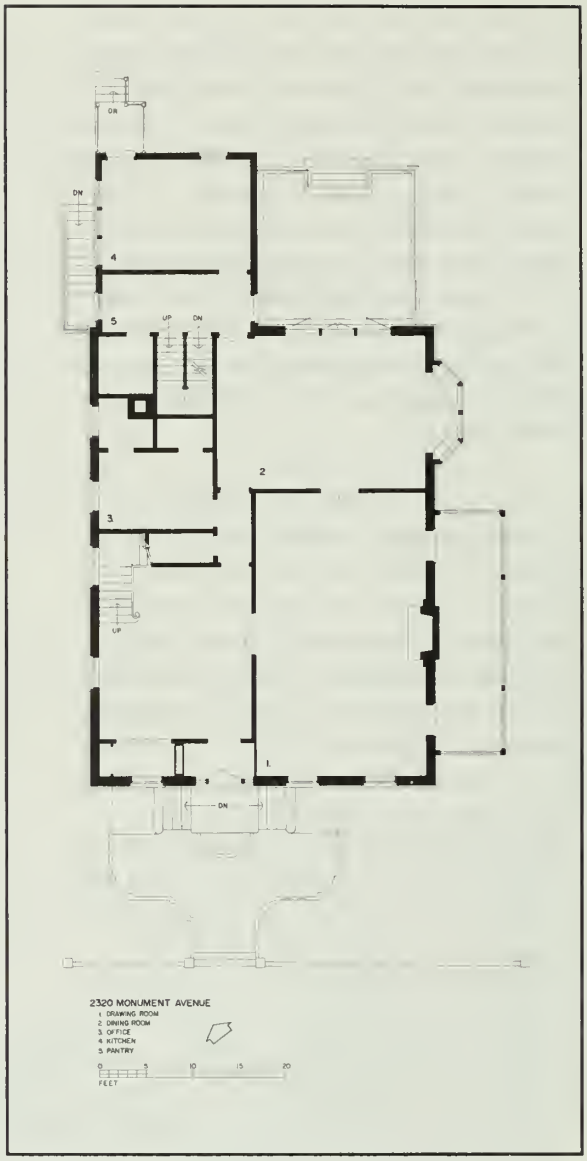

Figure 63 First-floor plan of 2320 Monument Ave., also designed by Bottomley but with a very different plan. Dolinsky, HABS.

The house at 3215 Monument Ave. exhibits a far simpler plan. The Davis brothers built several houses on this block; this was one of a pair constructed for Harry D. Lipford in 1920, and sold immediately upon completion. The house was clearly designed for a less wealthy clientele than the houses described above, constructed at an estimated cost of $12,500.

The house is 22' wide on a 25'-wide lot, which does not allow for much light into the side windows. As a result, the house is only two rooms (40') deep, so that light from the rear fenestration illuminates the back room, and there is no middle room that needs lighting. The plan makes several concessions to its middle-class occupants. The front hall has been dispensed with and the front door opens directly into the living room. Thus, some privacy has been sacrificed, as clearly servants are not screening callers. Even the name of the living room--no longer a parlor--

indicates a different style of living. The dining room and kitchen are in the back; there are no pantries or other intermediate service areas. A buzzer under the dining room table summoned servants from the adjacent kitchen. There is only one stairway, shared by homeowners and servants. The second floor has three bedrooms and two bathrooms, as well as a sleeping porch. The maid's room, in the basement, features a bathroom.

The house was equipped with a gas range in the kitchen and a gas heater in the basement, presumably for hot water. The fuel bin in the basement indicated coal as a fuel source, and the house was heated by hot-water radiators. The living room contains the house's only fireplace.

Not all Monument Avenue residents lived in houses. Numerous apartment buildings on the avenue attest to the growing popularity of this form of housing in the early twentieth century.[9] Although apartments were often minimal accommodations--particularly in contrast to some houses on the avenue--they could also be exceedingly luxurious. William L. Bottomley designed the Stuart Court Apartments, a stucco-clad Meditteranean-style building of nine stories containing more than sixty apartments. It was completed in 1926 at an estimated cost of $325,000. Bottomley conceived the reinforced-concrete and fireproof structure in the shape of a wide "V" with nine units on the first floor, eight units on the second through seventh floors, and

Figure 64 Plans of 3215 Monument Ave., adapted from original drawings. Spodek, HABS.

[9]Of the 264 buildings in the Monument Avenue HABS study, forty-five of them are apartment buildings.

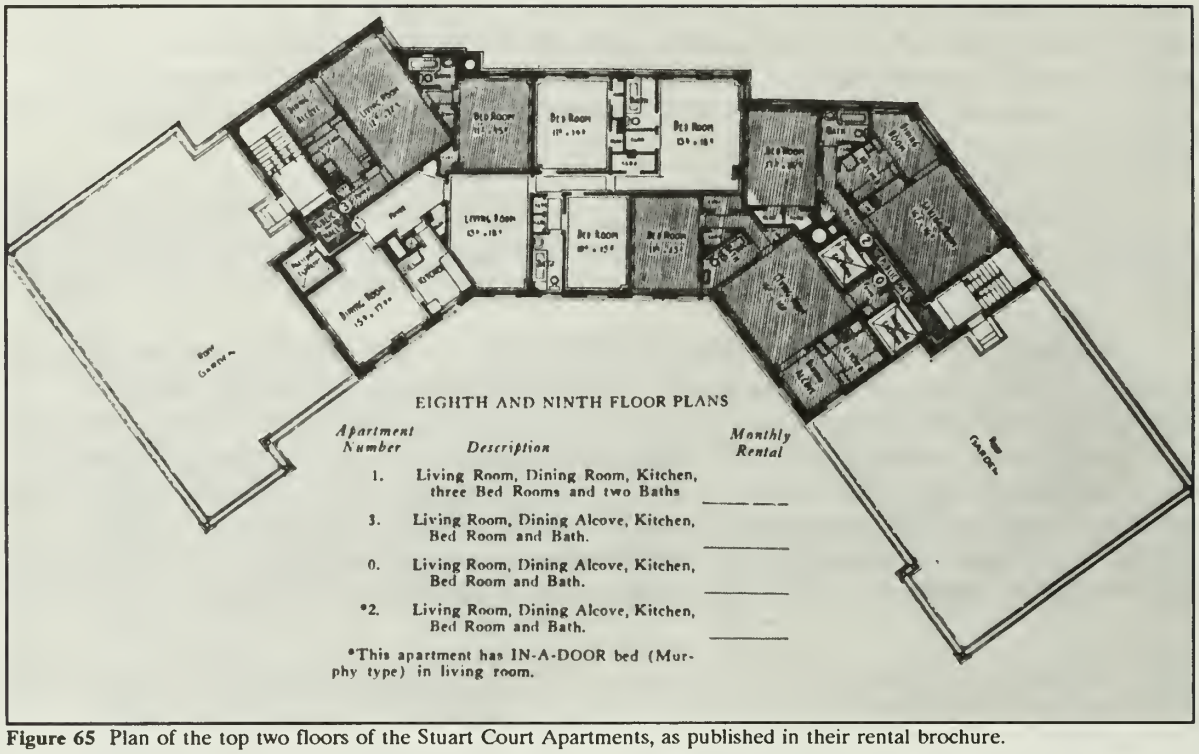
EIGHTH AND NINTH FLOOR PLANS
Apartment Number
Description
Monthly Rental
1. Living Room, Dining Room, Kitchen, three Bed Rooms and two Baths
3. Living Room, Dining Alcove, Kitchen, Bed Room and Bath.
0. Living Room, Dining Alcove, Kitchen, Bed Room and Bath.
*2. Living Room, Dining Alcove, Kitchen, Bed Room and Bath.
*This apartment has IN-A-DOOR bed (Murphy type) in living room.

Figure 65 Plan of the top two floors of the Stuart Court Apartments, as published in their rental brochure.

four units on the eighth and ninth floors. The apartments ranged from one-bedroom residences with a kitchen, living room, and bath to more spacious two-bedroom units complete with kitchen, living room, dining room, and one-and-a-half bathrooms. Bottomley incorporated modern amenities such as electric refrigerators and bathroom showers in his apartment design, and when combined with the assorted services that were available, advocates were quick to endorse Stuart Court:

> Stuart Court answers the demands of the discriminating apartment seeker. Observation and study of the latest developments in apartment construction and elimination of non-essentials for the sake of room space has resulted in a rare combination of conveniences.[10]

Such "conveniences" included apartment employees who removed and disposed of trash in the incinerators daily, provided maid service, operated telephone switchboards, and prepared meals in the building's restaurant. For tenants who preferred to manage their own services, servants' rooms were available in the building, "at a small additional cost." The basement contained eight maids' rooms with a common bathroom shared by all. The building was originally crowned with a roof garden above the seventh floor at either side of the eighth- and ninth-floor apartments. From foundation to roof, Stuart Court represented the latest in apartment planning while offering all the facilities of most hotels.

Although the forms and styles of the buildings make an impact on the viewer, it is the plan that makes a building work. Monument Avenue's carefully designed layouts subtly guide

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[10]Polard and Bagby, Inc., Rental Agents, Stuart Court Apartments on Monument Avenue overlooking Stuart Circle (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, n.d.), unpaginated.

Figure 66 The luxurious Stuart Court Apartments made the most of their location on Stuart Circle, both in their site design and in their advertising. Boucher, HABS.

social interactions, just as the forms and styles plead for social acceptability. The very uniformity of the Monument Avenue buildings makes their forms seem natural: houses and town houses, two or three stories tall, generally between 25' and 50' wide, set back at an even distance from the roadway, with stylistic identifications. Yet this very compatibility of form, plan, and style is hard-won, and the harmonious compositions of Monument Avenue owe a lot to their designers.

THE DESIGNERS

While Monument Avenue attracted two New York architects, John Russell Pope and William Lawrence Bottomley, most of Monument Avenue's architects were Virginia-based, and their paths crossed frequently, training in one firm and forming partnerships with architects who had trained in another. This chapter will chart some of those relationships.[11]

The local architects and builders also had repeated associations with Monument Avenue, usually designing more than one building. Some architects and builders lived on Monument Avenue; others were developers as much as designers. Monument Avenue's prominence in Richmond probably accounts for such consistency, but it also suggests that the architects may have had a commitment to the avenue. Rather than trying to outdo each other with one design, the architects may have been more inclined to complement each other's designs. The harmony of Monument Avenue's buildings suggests such a scheme.

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[11] Appendix A includes a list of the Monument Avenue commissions of each architect.

Monument Avenue's designers had varied educational backgrounds. Most were schooled at local institutions, but a few continued on to postgraduate training. The intimacy among the various architects at work in Richmond is demonstrated by the buildings on Monument Avenue (as well as other examples in the city), and might have resulted from similiar design philosophies they learned and shared. As Robert Winthrop suggests in his book, Architecture in Downtown Richmond, "It appears that a conscious effort was made to create an environment which was coherent and handsome."[12] Monument Avenue is no exception.

Beyond formal education, most architects were trained by more experienced mentor-architects before striking out on their own or establishing partnerships with colleagues in town. A few learned their profession by serving informal apprenticeships with their fathers, who earned their living from the architectural and building trades.

The best known of Monument Avenue's architects was a New Yorker, John Russell Pope (1874-1937). Educated at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Pope designed public buildings in a restrained and elegant Classical Revival style, such as the Jefferson Memorial and National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. For private homes, Pope often turned to the Tudor Revival style.[13]

Pope designed one house on Monument Avenue, the Branch house at No. 2501 (fig. 39). Although the Tudor style was used elsewhere on Monument, the scale and site of this house set it apart from others. Completed in 1918, this magnificent period house was built as a residence for the John Kerr Branch family. The scale suggests the wealth and status of Branch who, like his father, was president of Merchants National Bank, a financial institution founded by his grandfather, Thomas P. Branch.

Another New York architect had an even greater impact on Monument Avenue. William Lawrence Bottomley (1883-1951) designed seven houses and one apartment building there, and his articulation of the Colonial Revival style established a high level of architectural sophistication on the avenue. Because his Richmond work was carefully documented by two theses and made more familiar due to the publication of William B. O'Neal and Christopher Weeks's 1985 book, The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond, he will be only briefly treated here.[14]

Bottomley was born in New York City and graduated from Columbia University with a bachelor's degree in architecture in 1906, worked with the city's Heins and LaFarge architectural firm for a brief time, and the following year was awarded the McKim Fellowship in Architecture at the American Academy in Rome. After studying in Rome for six months, he left for Paris to attend the Ecole des Beaux Arts where he passed the rigorous entrance examination on his first attempt in 1908. Once Bottomley returned to the United States in 1909, he married architectural

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[12]Robert P. Winthrop, Architecture in Downtown Richmond (Richmond: Historic Richmond Foundation, 1982), 18.

[13]One of Pope's first and best-known Tudor Revival-style houses was "Bonniecrest," in Newport, Rhode Island, begun in 1912 for Stuart Duncan.

[14]William B. O'Neal and Christopher Weeks, The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985). Davyd Foard Hood, "William Lawrence Bottomley in Virginia: The 'Neo-Georgian' Houses in Richmond, Virginia," (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1975), and Stephenson B. Andrews, "William Lawrence Bottomley: Four Richmond Houses" (M.A. thesis, Washington and Lee University, 1982).

writer Harriet Townsend, whose mother and maternal grandparents were from Lexington, Virginia. Harriet Townsend's association with prominent citizens of her mother's native state "may have helped direct her husband's attention to the commonwealth and its architecture," thus shaping Bottomley's career early in his life. But it is also known that the architect's first Virginia clients had New York backgrounds.[15] Although Bottomley designed houses throughout the South, Hood believes "his reputation was made through his commissioned houses for clients in Virginia."[16]

In the foreword to the O'Neal and Weeks Bottomley book, architect Jaquelin T. Robertson sketched a profile of Bottomley's clients. While many partook of city living and the bustle of business, they romanticized life in the countryside. Phrases such as "New World suburban gentry" and "the backbone of our emerging country club/corporate culture" indicate that above all, these people were wealthy. Many of Bottomley's well-traveled Richmond clients were financial managers who profited from tobacco, coal, and real estate investments. Moreover, some of them had a complete knowledge of their ancestral past and could trace their lineage through Confederate officers back to first families of Virginia.

Figure 67 William Lawrence Bottomley was one of the best practitioners in the Colonial Revival style, as seen at 1800 Monument Ave. Boucher, HABS.

> His Richmond clients formed a prosperous, self-confident clientele, secure in themselves and in the way of life they wished to maintain. They knew, loved, and

[15] O'Neal and Weeks, 5. The authors explain the client-architect relation of Bottomley's first commission in Virginia at 6705 River Road, Richmond: "Mrs. Jennings C. Wise, of Watertown, N.Y. had known Bottomley in New York when they were both in school. When Colonel Wise [her husband] proposed building a new house in Richmond soon after their marriage, she suggested Bottomley as the architect. It was a great success and probably led to all the other Bottomley work in the area" (page 183). Again, Weeks and O'Neal question the New York tie: "It is not known why the Golsans gave the commission to Bottomley, but Mrs. Golsan, who was from New York and who spent long periods of time there, may have seen and liked some of Bottomley's work in the city or on Long Island" (page 41).

[16] Davyd Foard Hood, "William Lawrence Bottomley" in The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 119.

> respected Virginia, its past, its architectural heritage, its traditions. Their letters to Bottomley are peppered with phrases such as, "I want a real Virginia manor house rather than something too exotic."[17]

Bottomley was capable of offering them an architecture that addressed the traditional and familiar building forms that Virginians admired, yet provided them with residences that could meet modern needs as well.

The Colonial Revival style was eminently suited to these clients. Bottomley's Monument Avenue houses were usually four or five bays wide. The latter employed a center-hall plan, implying a symmetry that ended once the visitor was past the front door. Bottomley's four-bay-front houses were more akin to expanded town houses, with a side-hall plan. If the doorway was in one of the inner bays, the hallway would be especially wide. All of Bottomley's houses in the Colonial Revival style had red brick walls, flat-arched windows, dormers, and slate-covered roofs.[18]

One departure from this mode was the house at 2315 Monument Ave. that he designed in 1922. Built for J. Scott Parrish and his wife, its Mediterranean style is based on architecture Bottomley observed during his student travels in France, Italy, and Spain.[19] It was constructed about the time Bottomley was preparing his 1924 book Spanish Details, which contained numerous illustrations--both photographs and architectural drawings--and was soon adopted as a sourcebook by other designers. The Parrish residence was the most expensive Bottomley house built on Monument Avenue, and unlike his brick residences on the street, it incorporated the type of Mediterranean elements that the architect described in his book:

> The characteristic qualities of Spanish Architecture are its dignity, austerity and distinction contrasted with a romantic sense and a vividness of imagination. Large, simple wall surfaces bring out the rich concentration of decoration around doorways, windows and arcades.[20]

The plan also departed from his other Monument Avenue houses. The entrance was on the side, not on the street front, and the service wing was arranged around the yard to form a courtyard. Bottomley selected a Mediterranean style for several projects, but used it sparingly in Richmond.

Two Virginia architects who designed buildings on Monument Avenue, Charles K. Bryant and W. Duncan Lee, can be linked to another architect, Marion J. Dimmock (1824-1908). Dimmock, a native of Portsmouth, Virginia, arrived in Richmond at about age 9 when his family relocated there from Baltimore. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate Army under J. E. B. Stuart. At war's end, Captain Dimmock returned to Richmond and began a career in architecture. It is uncertain how Dimmock started in the profession, but by 1871 he was associated with his brother, Charles, as Dimmock Brothers. Most active from 1885 to 1905,

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[17] O'Neal and Weeks, 35-36.

[18] A list of Bottomley's Monument Avenue commissions, as with all the designers discussed in this chapter, is in Appendix A.

[19] Hood, 119.

[20] Spanish Details, frontispiece.

Figure 68 Marion J. Dimmock designed the house at 1205 W. Franklin St. in 1888, employing features of both the Queen Anne and Richardsonian Romanesque styles. Boucher, HABS.

Dimmock was best known for the construction of large public buildings, such as four churches: All Saints Episcopal Church, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Grove Avenue Baptist Church, and the Venable Street Baptist Church. An 1893 publication described Dimmock as a "leader in his profession" whose works were "most of the costlier business houses and residences." A member of the American Institute of Architects, at the turn of the century he was regarded as the "dean of architects" in Richmond. In 1902 Dimmock was invited to submit competitive designs for alterations to the Virginia State Capitol.[21]

Dimmock is known to have designed just two buildings in the study area. The house at 1839 Monument Ave. is a large Colonial Revival-style house, built in 1908, the year of his death. His other design, at 1205 W. Franklin St., built in 1888, is a town house influenced by both the Queen Anne and Richardsonian Romanesque styles.

Charles K. Bryant (1869-1933), a native of Powhatan County, attended Richmond public schools and studied under Marion J. Dimmock. In 1892 he began a practice in Richmond in association with William Poindexter. The City on the James, published the following year, remarked that each partner brought "seven years' experience of their profession, both practical and theoretical, with leading architects of the country, and besides have had the advantage of technical schooling." Near the end of his career, Bryant was selected to construct a model of Mount Vernon for the U.S. exhibit at the 1930 Paris Exposition by the U.S. Supervising Architect in Washington, D.C. Later models followed at the San Francisco exposition and at the George Washington sesquicentennial in Bryant Park, New York. Bryant's 1908 design of John Marshall High School was noted for marking "a new era in school building for the city."[22] Bryant was

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[21] Richmond, Virginia and the New South (Richmond and Chicago: George W. Engelhardt and Co., [ca. 1888]), 26. John E. Wells and Robert E. Dalton, "The Virginia Architects" (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, work in progress), unpaginated. Andrew Morrison, ed., The City on the James: Richmond, Virginia (Richmond: George Engelhardt, 1893), 56. The clipping "Architecture in Richmond," in the Baltimore series Architects and Builders Journal (February 1901) stored in the vertical file at the Valentine Museum, Richmond.

[22] Henry F. and Elsie R. Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects, Deceased (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1956), 86. Morrison, 58-59. "Charles K. Bryant, Architect, Dies," Richmond News-Leader, December 23, 1933.

Figure 69 A departure from the more staid Colonial Revival style, 2702 Monument Ave. was designed by Charles Bryant in a more fanciful, eclectic mode. Boucher, HABS.

recognized for his commercial buildings in Richmond, several buildings in North Carolina, and his church commissions. Bryant's two houses on Monument Avenue vary widely. The house at 2702 Monument Ave. is a town house with a Flemish gable and a castellated oriel, while at No. 2330 Bryant designed a Colonial Revival-style house with a wide front porch.

Marion Dimmock's relation to W. Duncan Lee (1884-1952) occurred in Dimmock's later years. Lee was born in Ashland, Virginia, on July 2, 1884, and educated in public schools at Ashland and Richmond. He began his study of architecture under George Russell Tolman, a former instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The young architect worked with Dimmock and became his partner in 1906 under the firm name Dimmock and Lee. Lee and Dimmock worked together until the latter's death in 1908, when Lee embarked on an independent career. His forte was the design of country estates and the renovation of colonial mansions, such as Carter's Grove, which earned him a position as a member of the advisory board of architects for Colonial Williamsburg.[23]

By 1924, Lee's career was well established, as the architect was noted for "the drawing of plans for the better class of private residences, of which he has designed some 300 at Richmond."[24] Lee earned a national reputation by the time he was 40, as indicated in Sketches of Richmond:

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[23]"Duncan Lee, Architect, Dies at Age of 67," Richmond News Leader, March 13, 1952.

[24]American Historical Society Special Staff of Writers, Virginia Biography, vol. 4 of History of Virginia (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1924), 30.

> Mr. Lee specializes in country homes of all types, creating the ideal sort of structure that best harmonizes with the topography of the surroundings, and his reputation in this regard extends all over the country from New York to Texas.[25]

Figure 70 Duncan Lee designed the house at 2307 Monument Ave. in 1919. Boucher, HABS.

Lee brought his country house designs to Monument Avenue, where he designed more than a dozen houses. Lee's venture into period revivals other than Colonial was somewhat timid, as evidenced by the tile-roofed house at No. 1821, the irregular plan of the Tudor Revival at No. 2605, or the stucco front at No. 2325. His best designs are expansive Colonial Revival buildings in wide lots, such as at Nos. 3170 or 3100, while a number of his other works are more modest Colonial Revival houses, four bays wide. In general, Lee's houses designed in the 1920s are self-assured and accomplished.

Another group of architects was connected to the German-American architect, Carl Ruehrmund (1855-1927). Ruehrmund studied architecture at the Royal Academy of Architecture in his native Berlin, and arrived in the United States in 1881. He gained employment in the U.S. Treasury Department in Washington, D.C., where one of his assignments took him to Richmond to remodel the Post Office building. Ruehrmund decided to make the city his home. He was an influential figure in Richmond, who for "forty-five years identified with the progress of the city." His sole design on Monument Avenue was at No. 1633, a three-story, three-bay-wide town house in the Colonial Revival style. Ruehrmund also designed some nearby buildings, such as the Shenandoah Apartments on Allen Avenue just north of Lee Circle, built 1906, and the residence at 3101 W. Franklin in 1916.[26]

His son, Max Ruerhmund, was born in Richmond on April 20, 1891.[27] He attended public schools and studied engineering at Virginia Military Institute where he graduated with honors in 1911. Thereafter, he studied architecture under his father's supervision and worked at the local building-supply business, Sitterding, Carneal and Davis. The partners of Sitterding, Carneal and Davis offered young Ruehrmund a partnership position with their company, but he decided to establish his own business instead. Although he had training as an engineer and architect and was listed as an architect in city directories, relatives acknowledged that Ruehrmund

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[25]Clarence E. Weaver, comp., Sketches of Richmond, Virginia (Richmond: Central Publishing Co., Inc., 1924), 118.

[26]"Architecture in Richmond," a clipping from the (Baltimore) Architects and Builders Journal (February 1901), in the Valentine Museum's vertical file collection, "Architects in Richmond-20th century" folder. "Carl Ruehrmund Dies at Residence," Richmond News-Leader or Times-Dispatch, October 26, 1927. Winthrop, 18, and Thomas F. Hale, comp. and ed., Richmond: A Pictorial History from the Valentine Museum and Dementi Collections (Richmond: Valentine Museum, 1974), 32. Interview with James Ruehrmund, the architect's nephew, August 8, 1991, and research by Juanita Parry, the homeowner of 3201 West Franklin.

[27]Material regarding the life of Max Ruehrmund was obtained from interviews with his nephew, James Ruehrmund of Richmond and his son, Max Ruehrmund, Jr., of Dover, Delaware, August 1991.

was more accurately a builder-developer. In entrepreneurial fashion, he bought several parcels of land throughout the city for speculative purposes. According to his son, Max frequently juggled his parcels, either selling or trading them, and also building on them.

Max Ruehrmund had difficulty managing his numerous real estate holdings. His son recalls that the local newspaper often ran notices regarding Ruehrmund's tax-delinquent property. He was most active between the years just prior to World War I and the onset of the Great Depression, which left Ruehrmund bankrupt. Although on West Franklin Street Ruehrmund's apartment buildings are busy in design and packed onto small sites (e.g., Nos. 1206 and 1214-16), on Monument Avenue his apartment buildings are more graceful and even imposing. The apartment house at No. 2805 has an elegant, curving portico, while No. 3009 exhibits the avenue's prevailing Colonial Revival style. Ruehrmund also built cottages, such as the Colonial Revival one at No. 3015 and the more eclectic one at No. 3007.

Max's father was very conscious of his immigrant status in the Richmond community and looked for ways to make it less conspicuous. His name was originally spelled Rührmund, but he changed the spelling by removing the umlaut and adding an "e" to the name in order to reduce the German association. According to his nephew, Carl Ruehrmund required that English be spoken at all times by his children in his household. Furthermore, although his name was Carl, he took care to give the Anglicized version, Charles, to one of his three sons. Nevertheless, the German identity followed Ruehrmund, as evidenced by the professional men who affiliated themselves with him.

Albert F. Huntt (1868-1920) was Carl Ruehrmund's partner from 1892 to 1895. Huntt was a native of Richmond, but not part of the local German-American community. He graduated from the Pennsylvania Military Academy with two degrees: civil engineering and architecture. After graduation he practiced in Philadelphia for four-and-a-half years after graduation until he returned to his hometown and joined Ruehrmund. Once Ruehrmund and Huntt parted, Huntt headed an independent practice at 1301 E. Main St. Huntt was complimented in an 1898 article for his "special attention to residence work, in which he has been particularly successful, giving careful attention to details and keeping well within the limit of estimates in a manner which has commanded the confidence of owners and builders."[28]

Huntt applied his skillful manipulation of architectural details to several residences he designed on Monument Avenue, most of which were built in the 1910s. His last project on the avenue was completed in 1919, the year before he died. The identifying feature of Huntt's buildings is a one-bay, one-story portico at the entrance. This porch usually had Doric or Ionic columns, single or paired, and often a balustrade above. In the pair of apartment buildings that he designed at Nos. 2510 and 2512 in 1919, Huntt stretched and doubled these porches, so that two two-story porches supported by paired columns grace the front of each building. Huntt's designs, generally not as vertical as a town house, succeeded in giving narrow urban houses a Colonial Revival appearance.

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[28]"Architecture in Richmond," a clipping from the (Baltimore) Architects and Builders Journal (February 1901), and 1898 clipping about Albert F. Huntt from the American Journal of Progress (New York), both in the vertical file collection at the Valentine Museum, "Architects in Richmond--20th century" folder, Richmond, Virginia.

Figure 71 The balustraded portico was a hallmark of Albert F. Huntt's designs, seen here at 2204 Monument Ave. Boucher, HABS.

Carl Lindner (1895-1973) was also a native of Richmond. Lindner's association with Carl and Max Ruehrmund was more than professional. Marriage among German immigrants in Richmond, like Lindner's parents, Maximillian Lindner (1863-1918) and Katherine Ebell Ruehrmund (1866-1933) encouraged business transactions among relatives. Carl Ruehrmund married Rosa Heiss in 1883 and through this union, Max Ruehrmund and developer Charles Phillips were first cousins; their mothers were Heiss sisters. In his book Architecture in Downtown Richmond, Winthrop concluded, "Since the Phillipses were among the city's most active real estate developers, many of [Carl] Ruehrmund's commissions came to him through this connection."[29]

Carl Lindner learned about architecture as a youth when he worked as a draftsman under his uncle, Carl Ruehrmund.[30] He completed courses at Virginia Mechanics Institute and improved his woodworking skills in 1918-19 when he served as first class chief carpenter's mate with the U.S. Navy. Lindner established a business with his cousin, Charles Phillips, around 1916, although the partnership was short-lived. He began his private practice in 1919, but worked with Bascom J. Rowlett the next year. Lindner maintained an independent business for approximately twenty years until he went to work with the Walford and Wright architectural firm in the 1940s. After military service in World War II, Linder returned to his own practice. He worked with Ivan Alten in his later years, from 1952-55. Carl Lindner, Jr., joined his father in 1952 under the firm name Lindner & Son, but eventually struck out on his own.

The residential designs of the elder Lindner on Monument Avenue demonstrate his stylistic versatility.

> While his formal architectural training was by no means extensive according to the standards of the early twentieth century, Lindner was talented and imaginative. He designed fine buildings and houses in a variety of styles: Italian, Spanish and Georgian.[31]

Lindner could work in the Gothic manner also, as expressed by St. John's Church at the corner of Monument and Lombardy. He designed it in association with Rowlett in two phases, the parish house preceding the church.

Lindner and Phillips worked cooperatively to erect the Lord Fairfax apartments at 3101-15 Monument, a venture that illustrated their architect/developer relationship. Phillips, as real estate promoter, often purchased the land and then engaged his cousin Lindner as the architect to help

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[29] Winthrop, 18.

[30] Information regarding Lindner's biographical details, unless otherwise noted, was provided by his son, Carl Max Lindner, Jr.

[31] Winthrop, 18.

him develop the site.[32] A collection of neighboring cottages on the 3100 block, all Lindner's work, was a speculative development, planned and built at the same time. Carl Lindner's name was listed as architect and builder on the single building permit for all nine of the residences, filed in 1926. Jeannette R. Mayo was listed on the permit as owner, yet deed research indicated that Lindner's cousin, Max Ruehrmund, owned the parcel at 3129 Monument when the permit application was filed, then conveyed the property to Lindner.[33]

William Leigh Carneal (1881-1958), like many of his colleagues, was a native of the city. He attended public schools and Nolley's Preparatory School of Richmond, and graduated with a bachelor's degree from Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in 1903. He began his practice of architecture in 1906, and was employed by the firm C. K. Howell and Co. Carneal was listed in the city directory the same year as an estimate clerk with his father's building-supply business, Sitterding, Carneal and Davis. Carneal entered independent architectural practice in 1907 and remained involved in family businesses for several years. He was the president of Sitcarda (Sitterding, Carneal, Davis) Finance and Holding Corporation, and the executive director for two architecture-related companies until 1944--the Sitterding, Carneal, Davis Company and the Rural Lumber Company. He also served as vice-president of Gresham Court Apartments. The architect served a term as president of the Virginia Society of Architects and was awarded an honorary civil engineering degree conferred by VMI in 1924.[34]

Carneal became affiliated with James M. A. Johnston in 1907 as the result of the former's office-hunting experience, but their association can be traced back to student days. In Carneal's search for office space, he came across Johnston. In a 1955 newspaper article, Johnston recalled his thoughts at the moment he realized the stranger at his office was actually Carneal: "I recognized Carneal. He had been a pitcher for VMI when I was a bat boy at VPI [Virginia Polytechnic Institute]." Johnston had room to spare, so the two shared office space although they worked as separate entities, ocassionally helping each other with assignments. "Then," the article continued, "they formed a partnership backed only by a handshake, no legal documents."[35]

James Markham Ambler Johnston (1885-1974) was born in Gillmore's Mill in Rockbridge County, Virginia. Johnston realized his goal to become an engineer early in life, and planned to pursue the profession even before he finished high school. His first experience as a rodman for a survey crew one summer increased Johnston's interest in the field and led to his enrollment at Virginia Poytechnic Institute where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1904 and a master's in engineering the following year. Johnston entered a graduate program at Cornell University where he earned a second master's degree in engineering in 1906. The young engineer then settled in Richmond to begin his career as the assistant to the superintendent of Richmond Cedar Works. The following year, Johnston struck out on his own to establish a private office as a consulting engineer and was joined by Carneal shortly after. Johnston, a fellow in the American Society of

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[32]Lindner's son, Carl M. Lindner, Jr., supported this theory.

[33]Based on information collected from the deed search for 3129 Monument (City of Richmond Deed Books 318B/316 and 336A/57), Max Ruehrmund owned the parcel from May 20, 1925, to June 22, 1926. The building permit was filed March 9, 1926.

[34]Wells and Dalton. "W. L. Carneal, Architect, Dies at 76," Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 24, 1958.

[35]"The Johnston in Carneal & Johnston," Richmond News-Leader, June 27, 1955.

Mechanical Engineers, was well known as a committed scholar of Civil War history. He led several campaigns to preserve battlefields around Richmond and served on advisory boards for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. He was presented an honorary doctor of science degree from University of Richmond, Westhampton, before his death on February 7, 1974.[36]

Carneal and Johnston, Architects and Consulting Engineers, was known for its educational buildings and school-related structures. They planned twenty-four buildings at the University of Richmond as well as buildings for their alma maters, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Virginia Military Institute. By 1955, the firm Carneal & Johnston had designed 1,334 commercial and public structures. Their partnership lasted until Carneal's retirement in 1950.[37] Carneal and Johnston's Monument Avenue work was as varied as the sites they had to work with. For the wide, shallow site at No. 3201 they provided an eclectic, cross-gabled design, while a wide, deep site at No. 2215 received a formal, Renaissance Revival apartment house. Apparently not wedded to any style, Carneal and Johnston produced an appealing diversity of buildings on the avenue.

Claude K. Howell (active 1904-40) was one of Carneal's first employers. Based on the research of John Wells and Robert Dalton, Howell evidently worked in various towns, leaving only sketchy clues behind.[38] According to city directories, Howell was at work as an architect in Richmond by 1904. He managed an independent practice, C. K. Howell & Company, but formed a partnership with consulting engineer Francis W. Scarborough in 1908 that lasted four years. Howell was listed as the architect of two buildings on Monument Avenue designed in 1908, while the firm Scarborough and Howell was credited with another six in 1909-10. Scarborough and Howell's houses exhibit a uniformity of design, with a trademark feature of a splayed lintel with keystone, as they strove to provide a variety of Colonial Revival-style houses on tight urban lots.

Figure 72 Carneal and Johnston designed the house at 3201 Monument Ave. for a wide, shallow lot. Boucher, HABS.

Howell's specialization in the design of theaters apparently caused him to move frequently. He was involved in theater design by 1916, since a notice of the same date identified him as the "architect for the Keith Circuit." Howell theaters have been identified throughout the south in Richmond, Lynchburg, and Danville, Virginia; Greensboro, North Carolina; Savannah, Thomasville, Americus, Atlanta, Augusta, and Athens, Georgia; and in South Carolina at

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[36]Richmond Lee Morton, Virginia Lives (Hopkinsville, KY: Historical Record Association, 1964), 519. "Ambler Johnston Succumbs at 88," Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 8, 1974. "City Architect, Historian Dies," Richmond News-Leader, February 7, 1974.

[37]"City Architect, Historian Dies." "The Johnston in Carneal & Johnston." "W. L. Carneal, Architect, Dies at 76."

[38]"W. L. Carneal, Architect, Dies at 76." Wells and Dalton.

Figure 73 Scarborough and Howell designed neighboring houses at 2338 and 2340 Monument Ave. in 1909. Boucher, HABS.

Charleston and Fort Moultrie. His Richmond theater was built 1922 as a Renaissance Revival movie palace.[39]

Otis K. Asbury joined C. K. Howell and Company as a draftsman in 1908, shortly after Carneal's departure. Sketches of Richmond revealed that Asbury, the son of an architect, was born in Charlotte, North Carolina. As one of the few out-of-state architects who established his practice in the city by 1905, he was commended for the way his work showed individuality and helped "revolutionize the types of architecture for residential work here in Richmond."[40] Asbury may have had a hand in the two buildings the Howell firm designed in 1908, since he was working there at the time. During Asbury's association with Herbert C. Whitehurst from 1911 until 1919, the firm designed three buildings on Monument Avenue, each in a different style--Colonial Revival (No. 2704), Renaissance Revival (No. 2504), and vaguely Queen Anne (No. 2036).[41] On his own in the 1920s, Asbury designed four more buildings on Monument Avenue, all of them suburban cottages. The massing and styles differed, ranging from a cross-gabled Tudor Revival house at No. 2607 to an L-shaped one at No. 2502.

Yet another group was related by their association with Henry Baskervill (1867-1946). A great deal of information regarding Baskervill survives largely because the firm he founded in 1897 is active today and maintains its historic records. Baskervill, the son of an old Virginia family, was born in Richmond. After he graduated from Episcopal High School near Alexandria, Virginia, he attended Cornell where he earned an engineering degree from the School of Architecture.[42]

Baskervill began his career in Richmond with a position in the city's engineering department when the new city hall at Capitol and Broad streets was being erected. The municipal building was designed by architect Elijah E. Myers, but Baskervill was called to replace him when Myers left during the construction, which lasted from 1888-94. Baskervill, trained as an engineer, quickly obtained a book on architecture and took on the project. A few years after the

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[39]Wells and Dalton.

[40]Weaver, 152.

[41]Wells and Dalton.

[42]Obituary of Henry Baskervill, Richmond Times-Dispatch and Richmond News-Leader, November 30, 1946.

completion of the city hall, Baskervill founded the firm Noland and Baskervill with William Churchill Noland, in 1897.[43]

Noland (1865-1951), like his partner, was a native of Virginia. He was born in Hanover County, and probably knew Baskervill from their school days at Episcopal High School. Noland also attended private schools in Ashland, and Thomas H. Norwood's school in Richmond. While Baskervill studied at Cornell and began his profession as a local engineer, Noland gained an understanding of architecture by working for architectural firms in New York, Philadelphia, Roanoke, and Richmond from 1882-93. Noland followed these apprentice-type experiences with two years abroad "traveling, sketching, and studying architecture."[44] After his return to Virginia, he established an architectural practice in 1896, but became associated with Baskervill by the following year in a partnership that lasted twenty years. When Noland parted from the firm in 1917, he worked independently until his retirement in 1940. He was a fellow of the American Institute of Architects at the time of his death. On Monument Avenue, Noland and Baskervill's work included town house designs in different styles, including Italianate (No. 2003), Italian Renaissance (No. 2020), and Colonial Revival (No. 1832) (figs. 56, 57). The firm also designed St. James's Episcopal Church at Franklin and Birch streets in a Classical Revival style.

The firm name changed to Baskervill and Lambert when A. Garey Lambert joined Baskervill and the practice in 1918.[45] In the 1920s, the firm's designs on Monument Avenue included two of the five-bay-front mansion type, at Nos. 2304 and 2609. Once H. Coleman Baskerville (who spelled his surname with the final "e") joined his father's firm in 1932 after studying architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, the practice became Baskervill and Son. Although the organization and name of the Baskervill firm has changed throughout its existence, it survives as Baskervill and Son, making it the state's oldest architectural and engineering firm and one of the oldest in the country under continuous operation as set forth by the original founders.[46] Because of its uninterrupted history and the corporation's appreciation of historic documents, Baskervill and Son maintains numerous original drawings that make its architectural archive impressively complete.

At least two architects who secured commissions on Monument Avenue were associated with John K. Peebles (1876-1934). Peebles, a graduate of University of Virginia, became an influential architect who devoted a great deal of energy to the architectural concerns of his alma mater. He designed several buildings for the campus and was affiliated with the university throughout his life, beginning with Fayerweather Hall in 1893. His involvement with the university's architectural affairs brought him in contact with other architects who worked on campus projects as associates, namely J. E. R. Carpenter, Charles Robinson, and Walter Dabney Blair. Peebles and Carpenter's Fayerweather Hall was "an early landmark in the reintroduction of

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[43]Richmond News-Leader or Richmond Times-Dispatch, December 14, 1972. Firm history prepared for distribution by Baskervill & Son, P.C., n.d., and Franklin P. Watkins, Jr., "A Brief History of Baskervill and Son Architects and Engineers, 1980," TMs [photocopy], Baskervill & Son, P.C., Richmond, Virginia, 1.

[44]Lyman Moody Simms, Jr., "Willilam Churchill Noland: Richmond Architect," Richmond Literature and History Quarterly 3 (Spring 1981), 43.

[45]Watkins, 1-2.

[46]Firm history by Baskervill & Son, P.C.

the Jefferson-inspired Neoclassicism to the state" and his persistent efforts led university officials to contract McKim, Mead & White as the architects to rebuild the Rotunda. He was one of five professionals who served on the architectural committee for the restoration of the Virginia State Capitol. In 1907, he was appointed chairman of the architectural board responsible for the design of buildings at the Jamestown Exposition at Jamestown. Some of his most noted commissions were large commercial ventures, such as the Hotel Murphey, Capitol Hotel, and the alteration of the Hotel Richmond and Jefferson Hotel. Peebles was the senior partner of his firm Peebles and Ferguson in Norfolk, Virginia, from 1917 until his death in 1934.[47]

Figure 74 Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church at 1627 Monument Ave. was designed in 1922 by John K. Peebles. Boucher, HABS.

Peebles' confirmed work on Monument Avenue was limited to three buildings on the 1600 block of the street--the residences at Nos. 1631 and 1635, and Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church at 1627. The two houses, at Nos. 1631 and 1635, are town houses in the Colonial Revival style.

Peebles also spent time in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he trained Charles M. Robinson (1867-1932). Charles, the son of architect James T. Robinson, was born in Hamilton, Virginia, but went north to establish his profession. Charles was practicing architecture in Altoona, Pennsylvania, by 1887, forming successive partnerships with men named Smith, Snyder, and Crockett. During this period in Altoona, Robinson concentrated on church design and planned many commercial buildings.[48] About age 34, the architect moved his family from Altoona to Pittsburgh, where he eventually established his own firm. In 1906, Robinson left Pittsburgh to return to Virginia.

It was in Richmond that his professional specialty evolved. Robinson discovered his skills as an adept designer of educational buildings and was awarded numerous contracts with college and school boards throughout the state. He designed all the buildings in the master plan for the State Normal School at Harrisonburg (now James Madison University) from 1908-28. In 1918, more than twenty-one projects came his way from Virginia State College, Petersburg. In addition, he designed many buildings on the campuses of the University of Richmond, Radford College, and the College of William and Mary. In a miniature booklet illustrating eight new buildings by Robinson's firm at William and Mary, Robinson commented, "Preserving the feeling of early

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[47]Winthrop, 241. Withey and Withey, 464-65.

[48]David Robinson, "Charles M. Robinson and Richmond Public Schools: A Summary of the Architectural Achievements of Charles M. Robinson for the Richmond Public Schools," TMs [photocopy], Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1978). Kim E. Wallace, ed., Railroad City: Four Historic Neighborhoods in Altoona, Pennsylvania (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey, 1990), 358.

Virginia colonial architecture yet at the same time modern in plan and appointments, these recent buildings combine twentieth century utility with seventeenth century charm." Robinson designed two major buildings at Stuart Circle, the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church (fig. 49) and Stuart Circle Hospital. Robinson became associated with J. Binford Walford, another architect experienced in school design, in later years. He was a member of the state board for the examination and certification of architects, professional engineers, and land surveyors before his retirement in 1926.[49]

Marcellus Wright (1881-1962) was another Virginia son, born in Hanover County. Wright worked briefly with Charles Robinson as an associate architect; the two were part of a trio of architects who planned the design of Richmond's Mosque auditorium in 1927. Wright attended Richmond public schools, the Virginia Mechanics Institute, and the School of Industrial and Applied Art in Philadelphia. He completed his program at the University of Pennsylvania in 1905 and upon graduation began his practice at Newport News, Virginia.[50] The following year he relocated to Richmond where he founded his firm in 1912. Wright's architectural taste leaned to traditional designs as demonstrated by buildings he designed on Monument Avenue. Colonial Revival-style town houses include those at Nos. 1614 and 2716, as well as 1209 W. Franklin St. In addition, Wright designed a Colonial Revival apartment building at No. 2923, as well as First Church of Christ Scientist at Allison and Monument. He and Duncan Lee were colleagues as fellow advisory board members for the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, a position Wright held since 1929. During World War II, Wright worked with the construction division of the U.S. Army as a civilian employee and helped build the naval operating base at Hampton Roads. He was a fellow of the American Institute of Architects who served two terms as president of its Virginia chapter. Marcellus Wright, Jr., joined his father's practice in 1936. The firm continues as Marcellus Wright Cox and Smith Architects today.[51]

Figure 75 Church member and architect Marcellus Wright designed the First Church of Christ Scientist at 2201 Monument Ave. in the 1930s. Boucher, HABS.

Although Walter Dabney Blair (1877-1953) practiced in New York City, he was a native of Virginia, born in Amelia County, with many area ties. According to listings in The Virginia Architects, Blair worked with John Keevan Peebles and other architects in the late 1920s through the early 1930s on University of Virginia projects such as Monroe Hall, Monroe Hall

[49]Robinson.

[50]Robinson. American Historical Society, 147.

[51]Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond News-Leader, December 7 and 8, 1962; Richmond News-Leader, July 8, 1953.

Dormitories, Scott Athletic Stadium, and Clark Law School (Clark Memorial Hall).[52] Blair's involvement with commissions in Charlottesville, including the public library, were probably arranged through relationships he made while a student there. After he received bachelor's and master's degrees from the university, he earned his B.S. in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania and continued his studies in Paris for three years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.[53] Blair opened his offices in New York in 1903 and was professor of architecture at Cornell the same year. He is believed to have been associated with William Lawrence Bottomley in some capacity during his career.[54] Blair was a fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

Blair designed the house at 2327 Monument for Lewis H. Blair, a Confederate veteran and well-to-do businessman from an old family, who startled Richmonders with his book, Prosperity of the South Dependent upon the Elevation of the Negro (1889), which discussed the oppression of blacks in American culture and encouraged equality among the races.[55] His Neoclassical house with commanding portico was built near the Jefferson Davis monument. Blair, although 80 years old when the house was built, still had six children at home. He resided at 511 E. Grace St. but decided to relocate to Monument Avenue because his residential area was becoming commercialized. The mantels, chandeliers, and mirrors from the home were saved and installed in the new house on Monument at the time of its construction in 1913.[56] He resided at the house only three years before his death, but his family continued to live there until 1942.

Other architects who designed buildings on Monument Avenue received little, if any, formal education, but gained their knowledge of architecture from mentors or fathers and tended to work independently. D. Wiley Anderson (1864-1940) was born in Scottsville, Virginia. He spent his childhood in Albemarle County where he was educated in public schools. He had no formal training or instruction, and was largely self-taught, as proclaimed in the book Richmond: The Pride of Virginia: "He is a self-made man in every way and owes the success he has acquired to natural intuition and close personal study to every division of architecture." Anderson's first understanding of the building craft can be attributed to his carpenter-father, Captain John B. Anderson. His father's willingness to teach D. Wiley carpentry skills at a young age and his contacts with other professionals in the building trades probably influenced the young man to choose architecture as a profession.[57] Anderson was inspired by Jefferson's nearby buildings; he was familiar with Monticello and often walked the grounds of the University of Virginia when he

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[52]Wells and Dalton.

[53]Blair's obituary was published in the Architectural Record 113 (April 1953), 332.

[54]Mrs. Joyce Strohkorb, owner of the house designed by Blair at 2327 Monument Ave. volunteered this information, while local architect and author Robert Winthrop supported a Bottomley-Blair connection was likely, but neither could offer documentation. This affiliation should be explored.

[55]Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976; repr., Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 258.

[56]Interview with Mrs. Eugene (Joyce) Strohkorb, August 15, 1991.

[57]D. Wiley Anderson's grandson, Keith Van Allen, was the source of information for the following biographical details, unless noted otherwise. He recalled that his grandfather was not fond of manual labor, so a career as an architect would have enabled D. Wiley to work in the building profession without exerting physical effort. Richmond, The Pride of Virginia (Richmond: Progress Publishing Co., 1900), 96.

visited the library. In his mid 20s, Anderson went to Richmond and had established his own practice by 1895. The aspiring architect never moved his family to Richmond, but was an early commuter who resided on Park Avenue and went home on weekends.

A portfolio in the possession of Anderson's grandson demonstrated that the architect worked in the eclectic vocabulary of the late nineteenth century, while his houses on Monument Avenue suggest that he was familiar with the classical styles as well.[58] His undated broadside, "Some of the many buildings, fine Residences and satisfied owners who have built by my Drawings and Supervision," listed more than fifty clients and projects, and added that Anderson designed "hundreds of buildings of various kinds" that were too numerous to mention. Anderson gained a following for his attractive churches and large residences, although he also designed schools, government buildings, offices, stores, factories, and warehouses.

The architect may have received some of his commissions for residences after designing places of business for the same clients. For example, Anderson designed a glass factory and warehouse for Binswanger and Company about 1902, then designed residences for the Binswanger family on Monument Avenue a few years later. Furthermore, the architect had connections with tobacco magnate Lewis Ginter and some of his commissions may have been secured through this association.

Figure 76 D. Wiley Anderson designed the house at 2910 Monument Ave. in 1913 for contractor Samuel Meredith. Boucher, HABS.

Anderson was active until the early 1930s and though he never retired from practice, he retreated from large commissions and worked on remodeling and alteration projects in his later years. He left his business in Richmond to return permanently to the childhood home that he helped his father build in Albemarle County. Anderson enjoyed his proximity to "Albevanna Springs," an area named for its site near the county line of Albemarle and Fluvanna counties where he bottled natural spring water, but he never developed the site into a sanitarium or spa as he planned.

Anderson was briefly associated with Isaac T. Skinner. In 1908 both their names appeared on the building permit for the house at 1837 Monument Ave. Alone, Skinner designed a charming row of nine houses in the 2200 block of Monument Avenue for developer Harvey C.

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[58]Unfortunately, only one original Anderson drawing is known to survive. Family lore explained the reason why so few of Anderson's drawings remain. According to Keith Van Allen, his mother and aunt made garments during the Depression from their father's drawings which were made on linen.

Brown. These two-and-a-half-story, three-bay-wide town houses and row houses have similar plans but alternate styles and details.

William C. West (1870-1950) was associated with his father, architect Albert L. West, as a principal assistant for almost eight years until his father's death in 1892. A fellow of the American Institute of Architects, the elder West founded his practice in 1866, making it one of the first firms in the city. In 1888, William was listed as a clerk at his father's office, but eventually supervised the drafting department by day and "devoted his evenings to the study of technical matters." William's formal education was limited, yet a testimonial of C. P. E. Burgwyn, the principal at the Virginia Mechanics Institute (and designer of Monument Avenue), attested that he took the course of applied mechanics at the school. William continued his father's practice, claiming, "I have spent years of hard study and practice with my father and other instructors, and now take charge of the office fully realizing the responsibility of the position."[59] West designed one building on Monument Avenue, the residence at No. 2700 in 1908. He apparently abandoned his architectural career by 1929 when he joined the Highway Department as senior engineering draftsman, a position he held until his retirement.

Not all buildings on Monument Avenue were designed by architects. Many owners listed themselves as architect on the building permit, suggesting that they had some architectural skill, or adapted a design from a pattern book, general architectural publication, or an existing building. Sometimes the builder was listed as the architect, suggesting that he provided the design. One builder, though, repeatedly designed buildings on Monument Avenue, having as much impact as any architect. That builder was the firm of Davis Bros., Inc.

Davis Bros. began as a business venture between brothers Charles W. Davis and Oswald J. Davis. Both were listed as carpenters of C. W. Davis and Bros. in 1905. The brothers modified their vocation by the time the 1911 directory was printed, listing themselves as contractors and four years later they were specified as building contractors.

The company name changed from C. W. Davis and Bro. to Davis Bros., Inc., sometime between 1911 and 1915, probably about the time the founders restructured the business to reflect a timely concept that emphasized affordable contractor-developed homes. According to a review of the firm published in Richmond, Virginia, 1917: A Glance at Her History, "The company was organized with the definite aim of designing and constructing houses attractive in design, substantial in construction and economical in cost." Their four-part business formula was based on the use of new, updated building designs, sound workmanship, and quality materials in order to produce affordable houses that would satisfy home buyers. Their scheme was successful due to their large-volume purchases of building materials, which enabled them to keep rates low and most supplies such as "lime, cement, plaster, sashes, doors, mantels, and light fixtures" on hand at their West Main office at all times. On occasion, the business was so active that it required "nearly the whole output of a brick manufacturing establishment" to construct its buildings.

By 1915 Charles W. Davis was named as the vice president of the business. J. Lee Davis (not to be confused with Jonathan Lee Davis, proprietor of the Davis Hotel), began working with

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[59]William C. West, "William C. West Designs Buildings of Every Description and Superintends their Construction" (Richmond: E.T. Walthall, 1892), n.p. William C. West obituary, Richmond Times-Dispatch, and Richmond News-Leader, September 4, 1950. Wells and Dalton. Morrison, 58.

Davis Bros. by 1909 and was designated president of the company by 1915. Besides serving as president of his own family corporation, J. Lee Davis was also president of the West End Bank, the Davis Land Company, and the Wellington Brick Company--which probably outfitted Davis Bros. with all the bricks it required.

Figure 77 These three Mediterranean-style apartment buildings at 2820, 2822, and 2824 Monument Ave. were designed and built by the Davis Brothers in 1924. Boucher, HABS.

Davis Bros. advertised their range of building "from simple cottage to finest residences" and promoted the idea that homeownership could be a reality for many since they offered "easy terms of payment," which "put it in the power of practically everybody to own a good home in the best part of town." If promising words were not enough to attract attention, illustrated ads were sure to get a glance. The 1916 city directory featured a full-page Davis Bros. advertisement depicting a streetscape with six residences, a tree-lined median, and parked sedans. The caption proclaimed:

> You Can Own Your Home! Every year we build and sell from seventy-five to 100 homes. The Boulevard residences above are a sample of our work. We can finance and build you a home or investment property, and are prepared to handle with dispatch large contracts--apartment houses, schools, or other public buildings. Write us or phone Boulevard 732 for booklet on Model Homes, before you build or buy.[60]

Besides appealing to individual homeowners, Davis Bros. ads were designed to seduce developers. In a later marketing effort, the Davis Brothers featured another full-page city directory ad illustrating the Galt Apartments on Boulevard and asked, "Do You want to Build a Home or Investment Property?" Evidently, developers did not require much enticing because by 1917, the Davis Brothers had secured contracts on several apartment buildings including the Hamilton, Belmont, Galt, Wilson, Rosewood, Ardelle, Claremont, and Davis. The Davis Bros. built apartments on Monument Avenue shortly after these--the Versailles at No. 2826 in 1919, the Greenwood at No. 2810 about the same time, and a similar neighbor, the Seminole, in 1924. A trio of Mediterranean-inspired apartments at Nos. 2820-22-24 Monument was also built in 1924.

Many of Davis Bros. buildings are built in twos and threes, sharing the same scale, floor plan, materials, and ornamental details. The forms, like those on the 3200 block of Monument,

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[60]These booklets were probably printed by the hundreds, but evidently discarded as frequently. Several ads mention the company's free "Model Homes" booklet, but unfortunately a copy could not be located.

are repeated throughout Richmond's Fan District. Original floor plans of residences at 3215 and 3217 Monument are identical, although alternative facades are offered. Much of Davis Bros.' output was speculatively built.[61] Before the second decade of the twentieth century, the Davis Brothers had gained a reputation for the numerous buildings they built and were regarded not just as general contractors, but as "Home Builders, who have built up the beautiful West End and made it what it is."

Builders were important not only when they were developers or explicitly listed as designers, but also because builders often affected an architect's design. On-site changes during construction, due to available materials or last-minute decisions, made their own stamp on Monument Avenue's appearance. Unfortunately, these ad hoc arrangements are difficult to document. Although research in the building permits uncovered the names of many builders, their relationships with architects and clients remain to be explored. Homeowners, too, had an effect on design, not only when they listed themselves as "architect" on the building permit, but also when advising their architects on their preferences. This type of collaboration often escapes the written record and is difficult to document, but it should be remembered that few buildings are constructed exactly as they first emerged from the architect's drafting board. Particularly in the arrangement of rooms and interior finishes, clients were apt to guide design decisions.

The cadre of largely home-grown architects and builders who developed Monument Avenue produced a surprisingly uniform body of work. Because of the consistent function of the buildings--most were residential--and the narrow thirty-year period during which most of the buildings were constructed, certain plans and styles were readily accepted. Deed covenants and building regulations also influenced the form, materials, and settings of the houses. But beyond all these external factors, surely the interrelated training and background of many of the architects produced a common understanding of what the architecture of Monument Avenue was to be.

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[61] Specifications for residences at 3211-13 (now 3215 and 3217) Monument Avenue reveal that "two seven-room detached dwellings" were built for H. O. Lipford in 1920. Lipford, president of Plant-Lipford, Inc., and proprietor of Piggly Wiggly, evidently financed their construction, but he promptly sold the property to L. Thorton Davis and E. Leslie Davis on September 1, 1920--just one week before the final building inspection. Deed searches verify that the Davis party sold the house at No. 3217 the same day to Walter Taylor. John Wells and Robert E. Dalton support that the Davises were involved in speculative housing since "The Virginia Architects" documents the Davis Land Co., Inc., constructed seventy-five dwellings in Richmond in 1908.

CHAPTER 4: THE BUILDINGS, BLOCK BY BLOCK

Monument Avenue is named and identified by the monuments that dot it, but the avenue is spatially framed and defined by the houses that line it. The collection of buildings is remarkably uniform and complementary, although its history of private ownership and separate subdivisions has provided variety. Because each street front of a block is cohesive and generally densely built, the buildings will be discussed here on a block-by-block basis. It is the front facades of these buildings that make an impact on the avenue, that received the most attention from the designers, and that receive the most attention here. The history of the houses, including the occupations of the original owners, where they came from and how long they stayed, suggests the ebb and flow of people on the avenue.[1]

In the following discussion, the blocks are treated in numerical order.[2] Within each block, the buildings are discussed in different orders, depending on the nature of the block--sometimes chronologically, at other times by type or style, or occasionally by the impact that they make. Addresses of extant buildings are bold-faced at the beginning of the specific discussion of each.

1200 BLOCK OF WEST FRANKLIN STREET, BETWEEN BIRCH AND LOMBARDY STREETS[3]

Historically, Monument Avenue was considered an extension of West Franklin Street, Richmond's most fashionable address in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The 1200 bock of West Franklin Street west of Birch Street, which terminates at the avenue, is included in the study as a transitional space, lending some perspective on the differences between traditional urban space. Although Monument Avenue was named in Burgwyn's earliest diagram, the name was not made official until 1906, by a resolution of the city council. The 1906 city directory is the first one to include the named avenue in the street index, but notes that it is a "continuation of West Franklin Street from Lombardy through Lee Circle to Allison."

The 1200 block of West Franklin begins at Birch and ends at Stuart Circle, named for the monument to General J. E. B. Stuart at its center. Designed in 1904 by sculptor Frederick Moynihan, the equestrian statue was mounted on a plain granite base. The site at the beginning of Monument Avenue was selected in September 1904, after the design of the sculpture had been

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[1] In addition, the first owner of each building, and his or her occupation, is listed in Appendix B.

[2] The numbering of the blocks is not consecutive, however, in order to be consistent with parallel streets.

[3] Sources of information on the buildings of this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 2434 (1201 West Franklin), 2757 (1209 West Franklin), 14834 (1206 West Franklin), 11759 (1208 West Franklin), 8133 (1212 West Franklin), 14505 (1214-16 West Franklin), 1153 (1220 West Franklin), 7962 (1222 West Franklin), 17066 (503-507 Lombardy), 2880 (413 Stuart Circle). Deed books: **1205 West Franklin**: 135C/326, 170C/384, 175A/519, 282A/163, 282A/169; **1214-16 West Franklin**: 253B/513, 297A/462, 314C/322, 316B/253, 324/95, 803/492, 22/9; **1211 West Franklin**: 218B/364, 252B/286, 317A/473, 521C/89, 258/1758; **Stuart Circle Hospital**: 213C/273, 214C/34, 221B/261. Richard A. Check, Through One and One Quarter Centuries: An Historical Booklet Published for the Quasquicentennial Anniversary of St. John's United Church of Christ, 1843-1968 (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, Inc., 1968), 12-14. Margaret T. Peters, ed., Not Hearers Only: A History of St. James's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia, 1835-1985 (Richmond: St. James's Episcopal Church, 1986), 54.

chosen.[4] Unveiled in June 1907, the Stuart monument marked the formal entrance to the avenue from the city, introducing Franklin's tree-covered, 80'-wide urbanity to the avenue's bright, broad new open space. Today that function is reversed, as West Franklin east of Stuart Circle is a one-way street, for eastbound traffic. Richmond College owned the land on both sides of the 1200 block prior to its residential development. The college's financial committee authorized the subdivision of the south side of the block into "convenient" 100'-wide residential lots in 1888, at the same time the Allen Addition was being platted, hoping to profit from the West End land boom of that decade. This side of the block is therefore more residential than the north side, which remained the Richmond College campus until the school moved to new quarters in the West End in the early 1910s. These north-side lots were subdivided in the late 1910s but not built upon until the 1920s.

Construction on this block spanned the years 1889 to 1929. As the 1888 Bates & Bolton plat indicates, the college trustees agreed to round off the corner lots at Lombardy Street to conform with the plan of the new avenue and provide a formal public space at its beginning, a concession that enhanced the street's land values along with its character. The formality, visibility and prestige of these corner lots appealed to institutions, as demonstrated by the presence of two churches and a hospital at Stuart Circle. The monumental focus of the circle and the expanse of the avenue beyond encouraged a monumental architectural response. The resulting concentrated

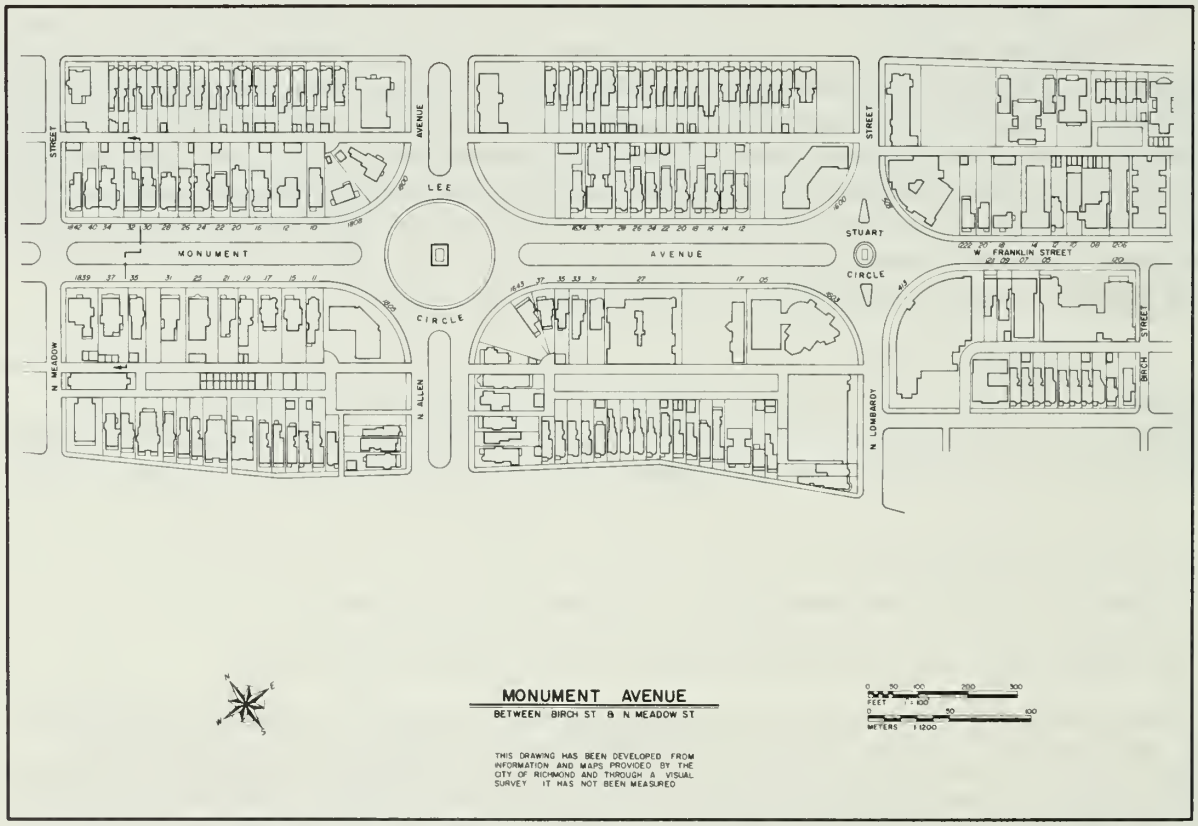

Figure 78 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Birch and Meadow streets (1200 block of West Franklin and 1600 and 1800 blocks of Monument Avenue). Spodek, HABS.

[4]McGehee, 91-96.

urban space, centered upon J. E. B. Stuart's dynamic pose in the middle of the thoroughfare, introduces a new kind of public space.

This block is exceptional for the mix of building types it presents in a small area. Although the concentration of residences is high (three apartment buildings and seven houses), the addition of two churches, a parish house, and hospital within the block reflect the multiple activities that take place in this neighborhood. The fact that all but one of these buildings was constructed after most of the houses on the avenue's first three blocks were completed suggests that the 1200 block might best be understood as a response to that development. Certainly the stylistic character of this mostly Colonial Revival block has more in common with the avenue than with the concentration of Queen Anne, Italianate, Romanesque, French Renaissance and Georgian Revival town houses in the four blocks of West Franklin to the east, between Birch Street and Monroe Park.

St. James's Protestant Episcopal Church occupies the southwest corner of the block at Birch Street. The church complex was constructed in two phases and involves three buildings. The church itself, at **1201 W. Franklin St.**, was designed by the architectural firm Noland and Baskervill. Building permits indicate construction between 1911 and 1913 by the local firm Jonathan T. Wilson Company, at an estimated cost of $93,000; the cornerstone was set in place in 1912. This Neoclassical church was modeled somewhat after architect James Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields (1721-26) in London. A full two-story portico supported by six columns with composite capitals creates an impressive temple front. Three pairs of double doors are separated by pilasters and crowned with classical entablatures that feature anthemion ornamentation above the center of each entrance. Pilasters enclose the entire triple-door entry. The steeple, soaring 200' into the sky, is an impressive contribution to the monumental vistas along the avenue.

A two-story wing of matching brick was constructed for Sunday School classrooms when the sanctuary was built. In form a Greek cross, it was set back farther from the street than the church and extended to the west. In later years, church officials purchased an existing house next door at **1205 W. Franklin St.** to use as office space. This became the parish house and was eventually connected to the church by extending the original wing. The newer portion of the wing not only joined the church and parish house, but also provided additional space for a recreation hall.

The three-story, brick parish house is the oldest surviving building in the survey area. Its Richardsonian Romanesque design features a brownstone water table and foundation, terra cotta ornamentation, limestone lintels and sills, and arched windows. A three-story canted bay with a hipped roof on the east side of the building balances a front porch with pent roof supported by two Tuscan columns. The house was originally freestanding and numbered 1201 W. Franklin. Richmond College trustees sold this 100' x 144' parcel to Robert W. Powers, of Powers, Taylor & Company, wholesale druggists, in 1888 for $10,000. According to the deed, Powers agreed to erect a private residence costing not less than $10,000 within two years. The 1889 Baist Atlas of the City of Richmond and Vicinity reveals that Powers fulfilled his obligation in timely fashion, with a town house according to the current Queen Anne/Romanesque fashion, probably designed by Richmond architect Marion Dimmock.[5] The Powers family lived here until 1902, when Hugh

[5]Drew Carneal, manuscript, Part Two, p. 42.

Campbell purchased it as his family residence for $25,000. In 1922, James Caskie, on behalf of St. James's Church, bought the house from the Campbells for $38,000.

Of the six other original single-family residences on the south side of this block, only two survive. Architect Marcellus Wright designed the house at **1209 W. Franklin St.** for Dr. W. Lowndes Peple. Completed in January 1913, it is a two-and-a-half-story brick house with a false-mansard tile roof between stepped-parapet endwalls. A wide dormer of four double-hung windows dominates the half-story and appears to rest directly above a heavy cornice at the second-story roofline. The dormer features a centralized pediment above paired windows with brick-formed pilasters defining the fenestration. The residence is one of several two-bay-wide houses on Monument Avenue, and is typical in scale, finish and detailing of side-hall plan Colonial Revival town houses throughout the Fan District and the length of the avenue survey area. The treatment of first-floor elements is elaborate, particularly the classically appointed balustraded porch and unusually fine fanlights over both the entry and front triple window. Windows on the second story have jack-arch lintels.

Stafford H. Parker, assistant cashier at the American National Bank, bought the lot at **1211 W. Franklin St.** from Richmond College in 1912 for $5,625. He moved his family into their new home in 1914. Like its neighbor, No. 1211 is a two-and-a-half-story Colonial Revival town house, built of red brick with white trim, with a false mansard roof and parapet endwalls. Two gabled dormers with arched windows project from the shingled roof. A three-sided oriel at the second floor dominates the facade. The columned porch has Doric columns and entablature, and the terrace has a balustrade. Windows have limestone jack arches and louvered shutters. A cornice with dentils and modillions occurs at the same height as the one at the house next door, suggesting the kind of unity of design that may have existed on the street before the houses at Nos. 1213 and 1215-17 were razed to make room for the expansion of Stuart Circle Hospital in the late 1950s.

The home at 1213 W. Franklin St. for Philip A. Fore, vice president of Commonwealth Lumber Corporation, was completed in 1913. A photograph from the 1920s shows a two-and-a-half-story brick town house two bays wide with twin dormers in a tile false-mansard roof. Across the front of the house was a one-story, columned, wood-frame porch topped by a balustrade. The double house at No. 1215-17 is partially obscured in the same photograph, but appears to have been two stories tall with a hipped roof divided by a stepped-parapet firewall. In the black-and-white photo, the house is white, with a pronounced cornice in line with those of its neighbors to the east. This building was first occupied in 1922 (No. 1217) and 1923 (No. 1215).

A massive brick house in the Richardsonian Romanesque style, with broad conical-roofed towers flanking a recessed entry and second-floor balcony, once dominated the southeast quadrant lot at Stuart Circle (fig. 43). Numbered 1219 W. Franklin St., the home's first occupants in 1900 were Langbourne M. Williams, vice president of James River Construction Company, and Murray M. McGuire, law partner of John Stewart Bryan. After 1909 it was the residence of George Seay, who became the first governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond in 1914. Stuart Court Hospital bought the house in 1958 and tore it down, along with the two neighboring buildings. For more than a decade, from 1900 to 1913, Nos. 1205 and 1219 and the old Richmond College president's house at 501 Stuart Circle were the only houses in this last block of West Franklin Street.

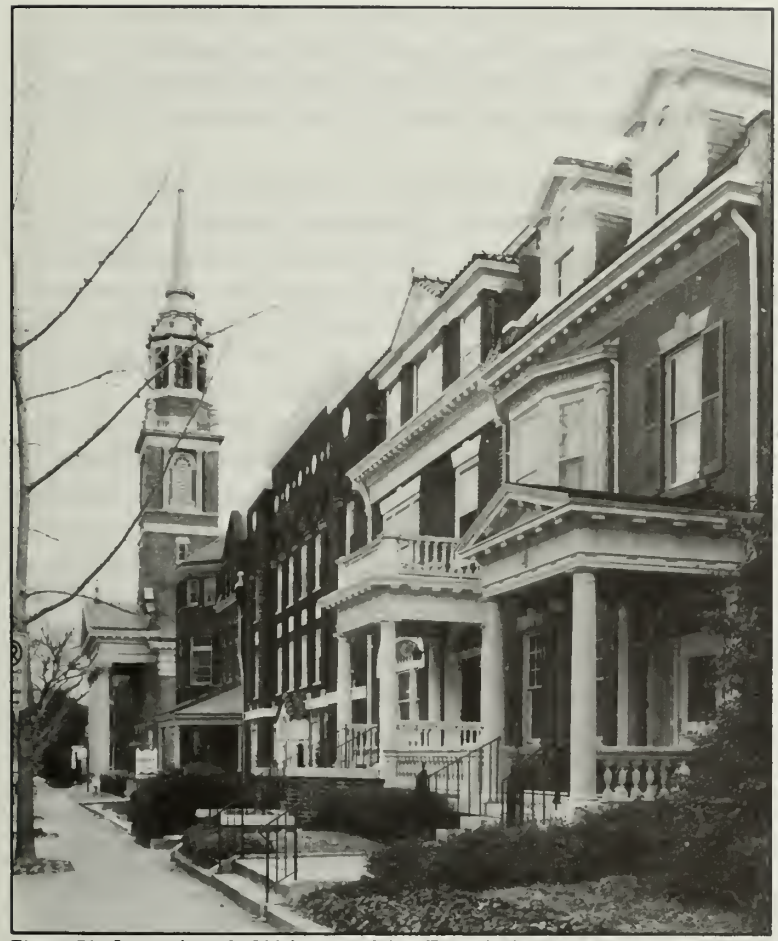

Figure 79 South side of 1200 block of West Franklin Street. No. 1211 is on the right; St. James's Episcopal Church is in the background. Boucher, HABS.

At the southeast corner of the block at Franklin and Lombardy is the only hospital in this study. Stuart Circle Hospital at **413 Stuart Circle** was designed by Richmond architect Charles M. Robinson, who specialized in schools and institutional buildings. Built in 1913-14 at an estimated cost of $80,000, the hospital was planned as a six-story building with basement. A modern addition that employs like materials and a rusticated base was erected to the north, on the former sites of the houses mentioned above. An elaborate consoled cornice is the main decorative feature on the hospital building, but the upper story was originally graced with a roof garden and pergola. A wrought-iron and glass Art Deco marquee distinguishes the main entry from other secondary entrances.

The oldest part of the hospital occupies two separate parcels of land, sold separately by Richmond College. Dorothy Franklin purchased one lot from the college in 1910 and sold it to T. C. Gordon and his wife, Ruth, two years later. At that time, the Gordons owned adjacent land which they bought from the college in 1911. Just months after the parcels were combined by the Gordon purchases, the land was acquired by Stuart Circle Hospital Corporation on August 5, 1912.[6] In the course of its expansions, the hospital, which originally faced west with only a slight curve at its north end acknowledging the shape of its lot, has curved around the entire frontage of the original quadrant and extended into residential lots to the south and east. Further additions and alterations to the building are likely in the future.

Across Franklin Street from Stuart Circle Hospital is St. John's United Church of Christ at **503-507 Lombardy St.** It, unlike the hospital, faces the J. E. B. Stuart Monument directly, while its monolithic mass follows the arc of the quadrant. Prior to World War I, St. John's (then St.

[6]According to Virginius Dabney's Richmond: The Story of a City (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1976), 281, Richmond Academy, a school for boys, was founded by authorities of Richmond College in 1902 at the site of Stuart Circle Hospital. Dabney claims the school operated at this location for fourteen years, although it did not go out of existence until 1918. The academy must have been housed in one of the three buildings to the east of the hospital that appear on the 1925 Sanborn map since the first section of the hospital was erected 1913-14.

John's Evangelical Lutheran Church) was located at Eighth and Marshall streets, but ever-expanding city limits promoted a shift in demographics and eventually led to a dispersed congregation. The northeast corner at West Franklin Street and Lombardy was selected as a church site partly because it provided a more convenient location for its congregation.

When the church purchased this parcel from Richmond College in 1913, the old president's house at 501 W. Franklin St. served as the parsonage until it was razed for church expansion. The church was constructed in two planned phases. The parish house, the northern portion of the church, was the first unit completed in 1921. It functioned as a temporary sanctuary and Sunday School until the main sanctuary was completed in 1928. Carl Lindner, a church member, was among the architects who submitted drawings to the church's building committee. His plans for a Gothic-inspired church were adopted. An arched window of intricate stained glass outlined by limestone tracery highlights the main entrance of the sanctuary. A large center door flanked by two subordinate entries expresses the central-aisle configuration of the nave. A three-story bell tower at the west side of the church rises just behind an arcaded cloister-like passage that links the sanctuary to the parish house.

The oldest portion of the church predates most nearby buildings on the north side of the street; however, the three-story house with two-story appendage next door at **1222 W. Franklin St.** was built about the same time. Dr. Clifton M. Miller, a physician at Stuart Circle Hospital, lived here in 1922, the first year the address is listed in city directories. This three-bay house is highly symmetrical with little irregularity other than the later addition. Brick courses form segmental-arched patterns above second-story windows while creating jack arches above third-floor windows. A cornice at the roofline, a stringcourse separating the second floor from the first, and a full one-story porch supported by four columns introduce horizontal elements.

Next door at **1220 W. Franklin St.** is a two-and-a-half-story residence of two bays. It has shuttered windows, a side-gable roof of asphalt shingles, and a stucco finish. The asymmetrical entrance is sheltered by a columned porch with hipped roof. A front gable interrupts the cornice line of the side-gable roof, adding a vertical emphasis to the facade that is further enhanced by a narrow rectangular window in the upper half-story. Architect Otis K. Asbury designed the house for Mary E. McCarty, who lived here with her husband, salesman P. Armistead McCarty. The building permit was issued in 1923.

Another two-and-a-half-story brick house in the Colonial Revival style at **1218 W. Franklin St.** has symmetrical fenestration emphasized by shutters and a central entrance with pedimented porch. The house's gambrel roof is unusual for the avenue. The 1926 city directory shows that Heath Lorton was the first to occupy this residence.

The house at **1212 W. Franklin St.**, constructed about 1925, has one of the most distinct hip-roofed porches on the whole block. The porch is especially pronounced by the material it shares with the principal roof: green ceramic tile shingles. The porch roof, which is almost pyramidal, is supported by a pair of full Doric columns in front and engaged columns at the rear. The two-and-a-half-story house with a side-hall plan faces the street with a minor front gable. Parapet walls enclose a side-gable roof. A small dormer containing paired windows is topped with a pedimented gable, thus repeating the triangular form used at the porch roof and front gable. In 1922 Broad Street Bank cashier Edward L. Word was the first occupant of this house, designed by P. S. Lubienski of Lubienski Construction Company.

The residence at **1208 W. Franklin St.** was designed as a duplex and built around 1924. The designer and original owner, widow Louise Blows Page, resided downstairs, while the widow of P. B. Augustine lived upstairs at 1208-A. An addition to the duplex was constructed by 1929 and, although vacant its first year, appears in city directories as **Nos. 1210 and 1210-A.**

The buff brick house exhibits some Prairie-style qualities in its massing and form. It is two stories in height, but the low hipped roof, broad front porch, and wide windows with narrow transoms emphasize its horizontal character. The second, joined duplex is more vertical in its presentation and reflects the posture of a row house, although set far back beyond the side garden. The two duplexes, despite their different silhouettes, are united by similar building materials.

A couple of apartments are scattered among the residences on the north side of the block. The Mayflower Apartments, at **No. 1206**, opened as the Rosa Apartments in 1926 to twenty-five tenants. The three-story, symmetrical red-brick complex has a flat roof with a front parapet wall. Three bays divide the facade into alternating recessed and projecting planes. A classical entrance is emphasized by its continuity with a window at the second story that is flanked by engaged Ionic columns. The original porch has been removed; surviving details such as multi-light casement windows, the water table, and cornice provide a contrast in color and material to an otherwise simple red-brick apartment house.

Figure 80 North side of the 1200 block of West Franklin Street. Left to right: 1222; 1220 (painted white); 1218 (gambrel roof); and 1214-16 (apartment building). Boucher, HABS.

Near the middle of the block, on both the north and south sides, are two almost identical apartment houses. Both the Merlin at **1207 W. Franklin St.** and the Gill Apartments at **1214-16 W. Franklin St.** were built in 1925. Max Ruehrmund is listed on a 1925 building permit as owner, architect, and builder of the Gill Apartments. The estimated cost of construction was $160,000. Within six months, Ruehrmund sold the lot and building to J. Cloyd Kent, who owned it for ten years. Twenty-four tenants (twenty men and four women) resided at the Gill in 1926, the first year units were leased. The Merlin had nineteen tenants during the same year.

The only differences between the apartments appear to be landscaping and color schemes. The form, plan, elevation and materials--brick, stucco and tile--are the same. Each apartment house is three stories high, symmetrical, and features a central entrance. The facade is organized as five bays flanked by slightly projecting pavilions one bay wide. Each bay in the center region is punctuated by pilasters crowned with modified pointed arches of brick corbelling. Both apartments have a columned entrance with a triangular pediment broken by a segmental arch outlining a fanlight above the front door. A pronounced stringcourse delineates the lower story from the upper floors, in the Renaissance tradition.

1600 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN LOMBARDY STREET AND ALLEN AVENUE[7]

Between Stuart Circle at Lombardy Street and Lee Circle at Allen Avenue lies the first block of Monument Avenue, anchored on the east by the equestrian statue of J. E. B. Stuart and on the west by the Lee Monument. Designed by French sculptor Jean Antoine Mercié, the statue of Robert E. Lee mounted on his horse, Traveller, sits on an elaborate Beaux-Arts pedestal. Commissioned in 1887, the statue was unveiled in May 1890. As platted on Burgwyn's layout accompanying the 1887 deed to the Lee Monument Association, Monument Avenue's 140' width on this block, contrasting with narrower West Franklin Street, forms a ceremonial approach to the monument. Quadrant lots mark all four corners of the 1600 block, and what was built on each quadrant demonstrates a unique attitude towards its monumental circle.

The 1600 block is the first in the plat of William C. Allen's addition. Surviving houses in this block date from 1903 to 1928; a school building at No. 1619 (1918) and two houses, Nos. 1611 (1911) and 1601 (1894)--the first house built on Monument Avenue--have been demolished to make way for parking lots and church expansion. The 1600 block developed architecturally in roughly three stages: early Queen Anne and Romanesque town houses before 1910, a flurry of Colonial Revival town houses and mansions between 1910 and 1915, and apartments and two more houses during the 1920s. The First English Lutheran and Grace Covenant Presbyterian

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[7]Sources of information on buildings in this block include: Richmond City Directories. Building Permits: 12926 (1600 Monument), 1438 (1612 Monument), 2628 (1614 Monument), 7005 (1616 Monument), 5782 (1622 Monument), 14604 (1630 Monument), 7187, 6504 (1617 Monument), 6717, 9505 (1627 Monument), 1423 (1633 Monument), 16726 (1635 Monument), 10261 (1637 Monument). Deed books: **1603 Monument:** 201A/262; **1605 Monument:** 670D/264, 511A/68, 147B/418; **1617 Monument:** 600C/432, 533D/396, 282D/213, 271A/139, 242B/329, 188A/455, 187C/452, 187B/262, 281D/232, 275B/405, 275B/413, 262D/46, 262D/47, 211D/253, 188C/327, 539D/133, 443D/219, 212D/280; **1622 Monument:** 126/1702, 734/1528, 686C/382, 681B/727, 638C/273, 201D/189, 189A/162; **1627 Monument:** 237B/273, 187C/452; **1628 Monument:** 174/344, 769/90, 749/1732, 740/1466, 692C/158, 499A/495, 496A/434, 439A/256, 415D/53, 187B/383, 170A/316; **1631 Monument:** 241/1061, 737/1591, 497C/498, 487C/211 & 213, 215C/80.

churches, along with the high-rise Stuart Court Apartments, are the block's grand architectural statements, although they did not appear until after much of the residential fabric was in place. Institutional buildings dominate the south side's eastern half.

The first house with an address on the avenue was a late Queen Anne-style town house at No. 1601 built in 1894 for Otway Warwick of Warwick Brothers, a tobacco manufacturers' supply company (fig. 31). Photographs show that it had an asymmetrical facade, including a two-story bay and a steeply pitched gable dormer that sat forward on the cornice, extending the house upward. The variety and overlay of forms elaborating the building's otherwise square mass, the play of textures--pressed brick, rusticated stone, wooden balustrade, molded arches, slate roof--especially the Palladian-like window treatment in the upright front gable, are typical of the Queen Anne style, but the beginning of the Colonial Revival is seen in the attention to classical details. Warwick bought a single quadrant lot facing directly on Lombardy from Otway and Mary Allen in 1892, for $4,752. Covenants in his deed required that he build a private residence by January 1894, set back 20' from the street and conforming to strict guidelines as to the dimensions of allowable bays on the front of the house. In 1948, the executors of the estate of Warwick's widow, Elizabeth Borden Warwick, sold the house to Joseph Walker. Walker sold the property to the First English Lutheran Church in 1971, and seven years later it was demolished along with six other residences on Lombardy Street to make way for a parking garage.

With the exception of No. 1601, development on the north side of the avenue was earlier than on the south, with seven houses built before 1910; by 1913 all of the north side's ten town houses were constructed. In contrast, the Warwick House was the only building on the south side until 1910, when the church next to it and two houses toward the west end of the block were completed; another went up the following year. On the north side the earliest houses--at **Nos. 1616, 1620, 1626,** and **1634**--are all brick two-and-a-half-story Queen Anne town houses with either a two-story bay or three-story tower, two side chimneys, arched window surrounds with semi-circular fanlights, and rough-cut stone water tables, lintels, and sills. Leaded transoms and bowed windows are in all the towers, except at No. 1634, where the originals have been replaced with flat glazing. These eclectic buildings include solidly Romanesque forms and rustication and strikingly "Colonial" columned porches, usually of wood and painted a bright white. Only the porches on Nos. 1616 and 1634 are original, and these had carved wooden balustrades. Conical roofs cap the three-story towers on these two houses, while steep (almost vertical) false-mansard roofs define the third floors. Each has a two-window dormer accented by carved figures in the gable pediment. The Romanesque effect is modified on No. 1634 by the use of lighter stone, and a porch that extends slightly, attaching onto the tower.

On Nos. 1620 and 1626, the middle twins of the original ensemble, the towers become two-story bays, while the roofs are low-pitched false mansards with hipped fronts. A later three-story porch on No. 1626 (indicating its division into flats) dominates visually, emphasizing the vertical with columns that become narrower at each floor, but obscuring the classical symmetry of four arched windows across the third story punctuated with brick pilasters, still visible on No. 1620. A lighter color and rounded porch with slender columns and Scamozzi capitals distinguish No. 1620 from its neighbor No. 1622, added to the row in 1907, which employs brownstone and dark Corinthian columns for a more somber effect.

These four houses were a 1903 development by builder W. J. Payne. A photograph of the period shows them laid out as a balanced ensemble, anchored by the towers at either end, with

Figure 81 North side of the 1600 block of Monument Avenue before the block was filled in. All completed in 1903 by developer W. J. Payne, the buildings are, right to left, Nos. 1616, 1620, 1626, 1634. Valentine Museum.

the rhythmic alterations of style and coloring common to street walls throughout the Fan District. Such houses were not intended to stand alone; these four were very likely spaced to invite infill development and encourage the sale of lots. Along the length of Monument Avenue, town houses were often built near but not adjacent to one another. Especially on the early blocks, the westwardly progression of the avenue was modified by continual infill as blocks grew up over the course of a decade.

The latest Romanesque house on the block, **No. 1622,** was built by 1907 by Emanuel and Rosa Belle Raab, who rented the house to Isadore I. Strause and his wife, Ada, until 1909. Isadore Strause ran Strause Bros. & Co., a wholesale dry goods and clothing manufacturing business, until his death; the 1909 city directory lists Ada only. The Strauses moved to No. 1622 from No. 1626, in what was to become a typical Monument Avenue travelling pattern. After her husband's death, Ada Strause moved up the avenue to the Stafford apartment building at No. 2007, and then had a new house built for herself at No. 1612 in 1910. In 1909, L. Franklin Barnes bought No. 1622 and lived there until at least 1932. Barnes had a garage built on the rear of the lot by C. H. Archer in 1917, for an approximate cost of $1,225. During the 1920s-30s, William L. Gilliam, a wholesale foods clerk, and his wife, Annie, also lived at No. 1622, but their relationship to Barnes is unclear.

By 1907, the first Colonial Revival buildings on the 1600 block had been erected at Nos. 1624 and 1628, on lots between the existing houses. A fairly stark example is **No. 1624**'s straight roof line and flat three-story, three-bay facade reinforced by plain, repetitive fenestration. Stylistic definition is condensed into elemental Colonial Revival signage: a heavy cornice and, at the entry, a one-story porch with fluted columns and balustraded upper deck.

Two doors down, at **No. 1628**, feed dealer Roland D. Harlow built a whimsical two-and-a-half-story home with eclectic facade detailing. Distinctive window treatments include two wall dormers, one small and hipped, the other large and gabled, which poke through the cornice line; and two narrow windows at the second floor are capped by an elaborate bracketed cornice. Brick rustication defines a two-story bay. The dormers and the bay, along with rusticated stone lintels and water table, tie No. 1628 to its earlier neighbors, while the elaborate drip hood, dentils at the

Figure 82 North side of the 1600 block of Monument Avenue today. No. 1612 is on right; No. 1616 is third from right. Boucher, HABS.

cornice and sleek red brick suggest the turn of architectural fashion from Victorian to Colonial Revival. In 1939 Harlow's heirs sold No. 1628 to Mary J. West. The property changed hands three times in the next eight years. Widow Lucille B. Quinn owned and resided in the house from 1947 to 1974. Between 1974 and 1988, the property changed hands five more times; the current owner bought No. 1628 one year after he acquired No. 1622.

Between 1910 and 1913, seven new houses went up on Monument between Lombardy and Allen, including the Mosely house at No. 1611. On the north side, Nos. 1612, 1614, and 1618 demonstrate a variety of roof forms, entrances, surfaces, and detailing within the Colonial Revival style.

D. Wiley Anderson designed **No. 1612** for Ada Strause, Isidore Strause's widow, who lived there from 1911 to 1918. A brick residence with Greek Revival detailing, No. 1612's three stories are individually defined. Textured stone facing covers the first floor; stone quoins define the second; and a stringcourse with a Greek meander motif runs below the third, which features a modillioned cornice. Window treatment varies, with limestone surrounds on the third floor and surrounds and elaborate consoles on the second. A full-width porch is supported by paired Ionic columns, with wood balustrades below and above. A limestone-faced oriel on the second floor centers the entire composition.

Next door, two-and-a-half-story **No. 1614** employs a browner brick and a slightly more restrained approach. A classical pedimented porch defines the entry, with sidelights and transom surrounding the door and a second-floor oriel above. Triple windows, a Richmond tradition dating from the early nineteenth century, have limestone sills and jack arches. An unusual hipped wall dormer with a double window breaks the cornice line, and is underlined by a limestone stringcourse. Dr. Marvin E. Nuckols lived at No. 1614 from 1913 to 1930, and probably used the first floor or basement as a doctor's office; an additional doctor was listed there in 1914 and again in 1921.

Two doors down, **No. 1618** abandons the traditional red brick in favor of the more stylish light gray, accented by a full-story green-tile false-mansard roof and green stained-glass transoms on the second floor.[8] Two Palladian-like dormers capped with green metal knobs define the third story above a cornice with modillions. A low brick wall supports the columns of the one-story porch. Isaac Lichtenstein, a dry goods merchant, lived here from 1912 to 1925; from 1925 to 1930 the city directories list four different women as the sole occupant.

On the south side of the 1600 block, greater uniformity characterizes Nos. 1631, 1633, and 1643, three houses built in the early 1910s. All are red brick, three bays wide and three stories high, with flat roofs and similar cornice, window, and door treatments. All have dark shutters, limestone keys, jack arches and brick quoins, yet combine these elements to achieve distinctively different effects.

The most substantial of the trio is **No. 1643**. The house, completed in 1910, occupies the easternmost of the property's three quadrant lots. The other two are walled in as a private side yard. Although modest compared to other buildings on Lee Circle, No. 1643 is grander than its residential neighbors. A full porch with balustraded deck and fluted columns emphasizes the width of the building, while the roofline balustrade and central limestone oriel lend an elegance appropriate to a house facing the avenue's most formal public space. At the same time, the house and yard hide behind a brick-piered fence and hedge (now overgrown), and the entrance itself is hidden on the side of the house. In other words, this quite public site is occupied by a very private house. The central emphasis of the house is a second-floor oriel; at the first floor elaborate triple windows flank a pedimented French door onto the porch. Architects Scarborough and Howell designed the house for John G. Farland, president and treasurer of the Sydnor Pump and Well Company, who lived here from 1911 until 1915, when Rabbi Edward N. Calisch of Beth Ahabah Synagogue moved in. This was Calisch's second of three homes on Monument Avenue: he moved from No. 2702 to No. 1643, then in 1928 to No. 3104.

The first-floor facade at **No. 1633**, also completed in 1910, is typical of town houses in the Fan District: a triple window and elliptical fanlight, repeated at the door, with a one-story columned entrance porch. Jennie McDonald Wellford bought the property from Otway Allen in 1910, and hired architect Carl Ruehrmund to design this house. Wellford lived here with her husband, an attorney, from 1911 until at least 1930.

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[8]The fire walls of Nos. 1616 and 1618 abut, although the two buildings are dissimilar in form and height; the 1925 Sanborn map shows them as freestanding.

Figure 83 South side of 1600 block of Monument Avenue. Grace Covenant Church is on the left; No. 1631 is on the right. Boucher, HABS.

John Kevan Peebles designed **No. 1631** for Otway and Mary McDonald Allen a decade before he designed Grace Covenant Church next door. A three-story bowed bay and light, elegant Colonial detailing lend this urbane town house a snappy Federal air. Flemish-bond brickwork, accentuated by contrasting mortar, brick quoins, white keystones, dark louvered shutters and a detailed cornice--including modillions, dentils, and a balustrade above--provide an unusual degree of textural interest. At the entry a broken pediment reveals a graceful fanlight, with a triple window above on the second floor. Otway Allen died in 1911 before the house was completed. Mary McDonald Allen moved in later that year from the Allen family home at 17 N. Sixth St. She was deeded the property "with improvements" in 1912, when Otway's estate was divided. When she died intestate in 1943, No. 1631 went to her sister, Jennie McDonald Wellford, who lived next door at No. 1633. Jennie left both houses to her sons James and Beverly. After James died in 1945, the same year as his mother, his widow, Frances Myers Wellford, inherited No. 1631 and Beverly kept No. 1633.

Between First English and Grace Covenant is another institutional structure, the surviving half of the Collegiate School for Girls, founded by Helen Baker. The only school on Monument Avenue, **No. 1617** uses a modified residential vocabulary that blends in with its contemporaries on the block. Like a number of houses from the early 1910s, this three-story red-brick building has a flat roof and modest cornice. The detailing is spare, with a porchless double-leaf glass entrance, suggesting public use. A transom and flat pediment supported by columns define the entry, which is flanked by identical French doors.

Baker, the first principal of the Collegiate School for Girls, built a new school building at 1619 Monument Ave. in 1918. Now a parking lot, it was the second location for the school, which started in a residence at 1133 W. Franklin St. in 1916. In 1919 Baker, along with Nadine Ward, purchased an additional 30'-wide lot east of No. 1619 for a second structure. Designed by H. Carl Messerschmidt, this building at 1617 Monument Ave. was to provide studios and additional classrooms for the school, at an estimated construction cost of $40,000. Several suits filed in 1921 over the school property resulted in various parcels being conveyed to the Presbyterian League, which ran the school. In 1951 the Collegiate School took possession, with the provision that if the school should be liquidated the profits would go to the league. The school sold the property to the Grace Covenant trustees in 1960; it is still in institutional use as the Stuart Circle Medical Building. Baker lived at the school at 1133 W. Franklin St. in 1916; a year later she lived down the street at Gresham Court Apartments (1030 W. Franklin); in 1918 she lived with traveling salesman John J. Baker at 1101 W. Franklin; and in 1919, her last appearance in the city directories, she lived at 1529 West Ave.

In 1911, the first church on Monument Avenue was consecrated at the southwest corner of Stuart Circle, with the address **1603 Monument Ave.**[9] First English Evangelical Lutheran Church was founded as St. Mark's Church in 1869, when the congregation worshipped in quarters rented from the Universalist Church on Mayo Street near Broad. In 1877, the Lutherans built

Figure 84 First English Evangelical Lutheran Church, facing Stuart Monument. Boucher, HABS.

[9]The church's number is **1603** on the street, but **1605** according to tax records. The Scherer Memorial building is **1609** by tax records.

their own church--renamed "First English" to distinguish it from the two German-speaking Lutheran congregations in Richmond--on the corner of Grace and Seventh streets. Until the 1890s the parish foundered, suffering from internal tensions and parishioners who "did not seem to take their financial responsibilities seriously." Membership tripled in the 1890s, however, and by 1900 the congregation was hoping to sell the property and "secure a cheaper place where as good if not better work can be accomplished."[10] At this point, the Grace Street neighborhood had developed into a bustling commercial area--around the church were a tombstone yard, laundry, clothing store, saloon, and the YMCA--while the church building had deteriorated. In 1909 the church sold the Grace Street property in 1909 for $40,000 and acquired four quadrant lots facing the J. E. B. Stuart Monument for $23,000.

The Reverend John Jacob Scherer arrived at First English Lutheran in 1906, and stayed as pastor until his death fifty years later. Scherer oversaw the construction of the new church, which was designed by architect Charles M. Robinson and built by the Newport News construction firm Harwood & Moss, with Richmonder Alvin Netherwood as subcontractor. Scherer solicited funds to build "a Lutheran church as fine as any the Baptists, Methodists and Episcopalians had," in "the most progressive and prosperous section of new Richmond."[11] The cornerstone was laid in July 1910; the new church was consecrated ten months later. The estimated cost of construction was $61,000.

The plan of the main building is roughly triangular, in conformity with the fan shape of the quadrant lots, while its facade follows the convex curve of the corner, a precedent followed by Stuart Circle Hospital in 1914 and St. John's Church in the 1920s. Monumental structures fill all four quadrants at Stuart Circle; institutions press forward toward the public space, while the one residential building (Stuart Court Apartments) "demurs" from public space behind a buffering forecourt.

Far more elaborate than First English's Grace Street building, the Gothic Revival church on Monument is constructed of gray granite. A central gabled parapet is flanked by matching towers and two-story wings. One broad Gothic arch encloses a complex stained-glass window with stone tracery recessed behind a castellated narthex and three double entries with leaded glass above each. The wings employ double-hung sash windows and minimal decoration, reflecting their more secular uses of parsonage and Sunday School auditorium. The curved porch of the parsonage contributes a Victorian residential character without clashing with the monumental Gothic scheme.

Connected to the church and currently numbered **1605** is the Scherer Memorial Educational Building, completed in 1954, twelve years after the church bought the property. This was the site of house No. 1611, the residence of Dr. Edward J. Mosely, Jr., and his wife, Susan Todd Mosely, from 1911 to 1941. H. Carl Messerschmidt, a member of the congregation, designed the new building with an assembly room and classrooms linked by a breezeway to the western church wing, which was remodeled from a Sunday school into a chapel. The Scherer Building is modern Gothic Revival, with colored-glass windows in a five-bay facade and a flat

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[10]Mary Grace Scherer Taylor, Saints Alive! (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1976), 17.

[11]Taylor, 24.

parapeted roof. The entrance is almost at ground level, although the first floor is raised to permit windows into the basement.

Like First English Lutheran, the second church on the block is Gothic Revival, designed in 1922 by John Kevan Peebles. Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church fronts 150' in the middle of the south side of Monument Avenue at **No. 1627**. A large stained-glass window with elaborate stone tracery dominates the street facade, with a recessed Gothic doorway below and a side entry to the right. Limestone surrounds outline the windows and entry, contrasting with the brick facade. Just west of the church is its Sunday school building, which was built first, in 1919. Also Gothic Revival, this is a less overtly ecclesiastical building, with small-paned leaded-glass windows throughout.

The rest of the 1600 block filled in during the 1920s with three single-family residences, a typical Monument Avenue apartment building, and the grand Bottomley-designed Stuart Court Apartments.

The two houses at Nos. 1635 (1927) and 1637 (1922-23) blend in with the earlier Colonial Revival examples; each is two-and-a-half stories with a false mansard roof, two gabled dormers, and dark shutters. Peebles and Ferguson designed the house at **No. 1635** for owner Dr. Meade Mann. Here, multi-light windows appear throughout the facade, which features a triple window at the first-floor level. A lower roof line and tighter window spacing make No. 1635 appear much smaller than its neighbor, which sits on a quadrant lot. The brown tile roof on **No. 1637** is steeper, and the height is accented by a frieze below the cornice. The eastern corner breaks the 20' setback of the street visually as it turns along the curve of the block; No. 1637 is the only extant quadrant lot house that faces squarely on neither the street nor the monument. Although the quadrants were originally split into five lots each, they were never built as such; No. 1637 suggests the kind of awkward lines that might have resulted from tight residential development on Lee and Stuart circles. Contractor Emsley Higgenbotham employed L. C. Jenkins to build 1637 in 1922, but Higgenbotham lived there only in 1924; from 1925 to 1929 it was the home of Mrs. E. McC. Davenport.

Similar to the Colonial Revival apartment buildings that dominate several later blocks on the avenue, **No. 1630-32** was built in 1925, although only four apartments were occupied by 1926. A year later, it housed nineteen tenants. The building's three-story columned and balustraded porch stretches across five of a total of seven bays. Soldier courses define each floor in a yellow-brick facade.

The Stuart Court Apartments at **No. 1600** are over-scaled for Monument Avenue, and much more in keeping with earlier apartment buildings closer to downtown Richmond such as the Chesterfield or Gresham Court. Designed in 1924 by William Lawrence Bottomley, the building is nine stories high, contains more than sixty apartments, and is constructed of reinforced concrete. The gray and brown mass wraps around Stuart Circle, with each plane change articulated by white quoins. On the sides facing Monument and Lombardy, the facade is only seven stories, divided into zones by stone stringcourses. The side facades have their own central focus, with two balconied Palladianesque windows and stairs leading down to a service entry. Red and white frescoes at the eighth and ninth floors, concrete urns at the roofline, and playful roof structures reminiscent of an Italian village serve to relieve the monumentality of the building, as

did the original cornice, removed because crumbling material posed a hazard to residents and pedestrians.

With windows offering tenants plenty of fresh air and unobstructed views of "fashionable Franklin Street," rental agents were prone to portray the rooms as "large, well-lighted and airy." Promotional literature expressed pride in the Monument Avenue address when describing the new complex:

> Stuart Court is in the heart of Richmond's finest residential section, on Monument Avenue, overlooking beautiful Stuart Circle and the J. E. B. Stuart Monument from which it takes its name. It looks out across Monument Avenue, upon the green turf of the mall, beautiful trees and flowers, and, as far as the eye will carry, the view is a happy one, whichever way you look.[12]

As attractive as the building might be, its prime location was the characteristic promoted by its owners.

1800 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN ALLEN AVENUE AND MEADOW STREET[13]

Of twenty-six buildings in the 1800 block, twenty-five are single-family houses; the remaining building is a medical office tower filling the southwest quadrant at Lee Circle. The block was built up quickly, with the first house appearing in 1902, the next in 1904, and eighteen more by 1909. The block was complete by 1914 except for the quadrant lots, which were characteristically developed later. Despite the rapid growth, the buildings exhibit a mix of styles and types. Town houses are accompanied by the evolving freestanding Colonial Revival urban houses, a type new to Richmond. The block represents a search for an appropriate form for the avenue, something that appears private in a public space.

Generally larger lot sizes on the south side accommodate mansions either two or two-and-a-half stories tall, and more likely to have side yards than the houses they face. There are only three town houses on this side of the street; that is, tall, narrow buildings with flat or false mansard roofs, with all stylistic efforts spent on the facade and none on side walls, since only the facade would be visible in what was anticipated to be a close-built street wall. On the other hand,

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[12]Polard and Bagby, Inc., Rental Agents, Stuart Court Apartments on Monument Avenue Overlooking Stuart Circle (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., n.d.), unpaginated.

[13]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 20516 (1800 Monument), 14573 (1808 Monument), 4638 (1816 Monument), 6363 (1826 Monument), 10376 (1830 Monument), 3031 (1842 Monument), 4822 (1819 Monument), 2708 (1821 Monument), 6948 (1825 Monument), 6851 (1831 Monument), 750 (1837 Monument), 550 (1839 Monument). Deed books: **1842 Monument**: 171B/58, 172A/332, 182A/166, 453D/31, 633B/94, 724/1667; **1810 Monument**: 170C/466, 174C/281, 189C/272, 553B/197, 554C/82, Will Book 124/157; **1831 Monument**: 170C/329, 176B/94, 180B/425, 180A/381,380, 187B/237, 188A/56, 170C/329, 177A/12, 127B/129, 179C/500, 173B/294, 170C/386,310, 127B/129, 186C/503, 186A/389, 192B/278, 193A/255, 180B/427,425, 186A/389, 562B/2, 566D/321, 599C/149; **1820 Monument**: 170A/383, 184B/480, 354A/264, 430B/23, 431C/304, 430D/456, 456B/52, 501D/190, 564D/111, 606C/419, 668D/672; **1817 Monument**: 170B/306, 185C/141, Will Book 1/419, 104C/353, 170A/392, 173B/279, 177B/22, 179C/502, 362A/188, 387C/490, 394B/144, 418A/258, 438B/174, 560C/151, 648B/649, 737/1655, 94/797; **1800 Monument**: 133A/222, 175C/271, 171C/378, 165C/260, 279C/319, 354C/138, 555B/68, 599A/694,692, 668B/559, 679D/278. Richmond City Council Minutes, June 14, 1928.

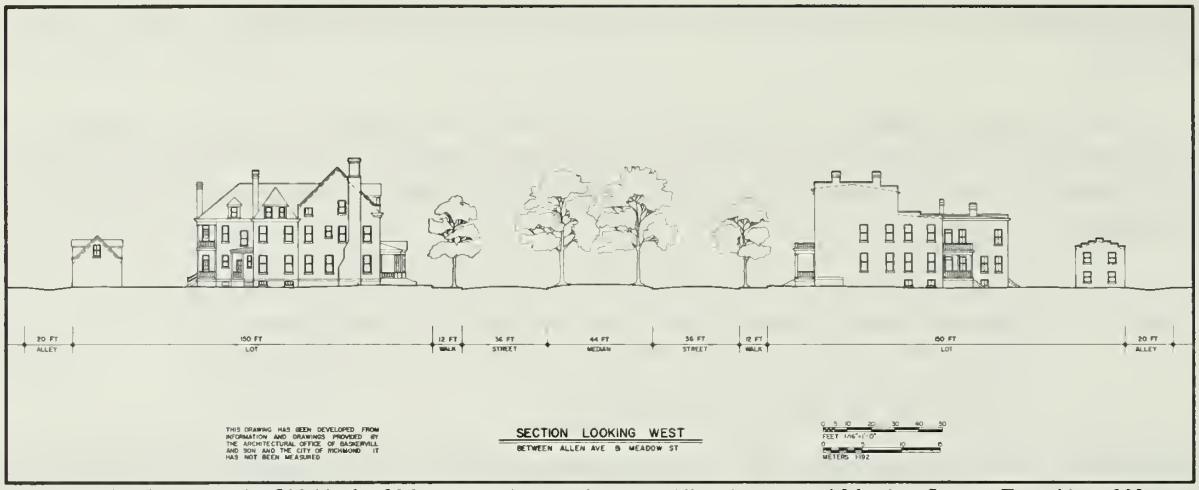

Figure 85 Section through 1800 block of Monument Avenue, between Allen Avenue and Meadow Street. East sides of Nos. 1837 (left) and 1832 (right) are shown. Spodek, HABS.

eleven out of thirteen early houses on the north side are of this type. The result is a more urban, integrated character on the north side of the avenue, with a fairly continuous cornice line down the row of houses visually merging separate buildings into a streetwall. The 20' setback and limitation on building materials and bay dimensions prescribed in the original Allen Addition deeds contribute to this effect.

The 1800 block is architecturally rich and dense, including among its dwellings several variations of the Queen Anne, Neoclassical, and Colonial Revival styles, and one especially fine Georgian Revival example. One-story Colonial Revival front porches, most with white classical columns but some with brick or stone pillars, are a significant unifying compositional element down the block, as they are throughout the length of the avenue, along with a generous distribution of balustrades and limestone or brownstone accents on brick facades. These are the primary threads out of which the avenue's signature fabric is knit.

The first structure built on the block was the Queen Anne town house at **1842 Monument Ave.**, finished in 1902 for George E. Guvernator, president of Consumer Ice Company and secretary of Home Brewing Company. It is interesting that although the block is adjacent to the Lee Monument, the house was built fully twelve years after the monument's unveiling, and on the lot farthest from it rather than on one of the quadrant lots immediately addressing Lee Circle. This three-story, gray brick house with brownstone and patterned-brick trim is tall and narrow, and like other examples with side-hall entrances and full bays, its facade was obviously intended to blend into the rhythm of the street wall rather than stand alone. Consequently, the hallway side of the house is on the inside of the block so that living spaces--even an attic--benefit from a window wall facing Meadow Street. The generous use of stained glass in these windows is distinctive, certainly the largest application of that medium on the avenue. Stepped parapet endwalls, an arch-capped chimney and a false-mansard roof with a sharp front gable and a tent roof with finial crowning a three-sided, three-story bay combine here in a creative interpretation of an otherwise standard Fan District house form. A full-width porch, its roof edged with ornamental metal cresting, is supported by four freestanding and two engaged columns connected by wood balustrades. Only the house's "cream-white" brick, the same used on the Jefferson Hotel

in 1895, and the use of bands of brick patterning to define story divisions, relate this building to the house across Meadow Street at 2000 Monument Ave., also completed in 1902.

George Guvernator puchased this lot in November 1901, from E. G. and Thomas B. Higgenbotham, who acquired two adjacent lots at this corner seven months before. Guvernator and his wife, Amelia, built their home the following year but resided there only until 1904, when they sold it for $11,000 to Virginia Beveridge, wife of Stephen Beveridge, who owned a wholesale grocery business. This was the Beveridge home for more than forty years.

Other residences within the 1800 block that have two- or three-story bays and predate 1907 are **Nos. 1824**, **1835**, and **1840 Monument**. All three of these houses have rusticated porches with piers for support and incorporate limestone trim. Nos. 1835 and 1840 Monument are the same house in plan and elevation, varying in small details and in the former's ponderous substitution of rough-cut limestone and brownstone for brick as a facing material. Both have false-mansard roofs with a hipped roof superimposed at the front, arched courses joining a row of windows at the third story, two-story side bays, and balustraded decks atop asymmetrical porches. This porch is repeated at No. 1824, although it joins a three-story instead of a two-story bay. A cornice underscores a balustraded parapet while a band of brick corbelling unites windows on the third floor.

The 1904 town house at **1811 Monument** is an example of a Neoclassical turn on the form. Like the residences at Nos. 1810, 1822, 1826, and 1834 Monument, every story is designed as a separate but compatible unit that harmonizes with the overall design. The different treatment of each story divides the facade into three distinct horizontal sections. The first story of No. 1811, for example, is only two bays wide with a cornice to separate it from the next story. The 1925 Sanborn map indicates a full-width one story porch across the facade sheltering the entry; the side entrance was a later alteration. The second story's only fenestration on the front is

Figure 86 Meadow Street separates 2000 Monument Ave. (left), and 1842 Monument Ave. (right). Boucher, HABS.

a centered three-sided oriel; brick quoins at the corners and a corbelled stringcourse above the oriel distinguish it from the one above. Three arched windows are joined across the third story and flanked by recessed panels and brick medallions for a Renaissance effect beneath the modillioned cornice.

Another Neoclassical example at **No. 1810** is two bays wide and three stories tall. Broad steps lead to a double-door entry flanked by engaged columns and sidelights, with a rectangular transom over all. The porch's Doric columns support an entablature and upper deck with wrought-iron railing. A rusticated lower story of limestone ashlar anchors the building while stone quoins continue the effect through the second story. Limestone stringcourses, carved in a Greek meander design above the first floor but plain above the second, assist in delineating one story from another. Engaged columns with Scamozzi capitals carry independent and complete entablatures at second-story windows, which open like French doors onto either the porch deck or a small balcony with a wrought-iron balcony railing. Transoms above these wide windows open independently, for added ventilation. Windows at the third level are framed by shouldered architraves of cut limestone built up upon the cornices of the second-floor windows over which they are centered. The overall effect is of two stacks of graduated cubes defining three separate registers. The flat roof only enhances a sense of careful geometry. The house has a European character, played up by the very Parisian emphasis on the second floor as primary living space.

The architect of 1810 Monument is unknown, but the original owner was Lucy Hill, whose husband, Julien, was an assistant cashier at the National State and City Bank of Virginia. The Hills lived at 305 W. Franklin before they built this house. William C. Allen's daughter Bettie and her husband, Roger Gregory, sold their five-lot parcel at this end of the street to Thomas F. Jeffress for $9,000 in 1901. Jeffress sold one lot and part of another the following year to Alice G. Barnes for $3,150. Alice and her husband, R. L. Barnes, sold the land three years later to J. F. Walsh for $4,550. The Hills paid $7,000 for the property on May 31, 1906. They were in residence at their new address by 1908 and lived there the rest of their lives.

Figure 87 North side of 1800 block of Monument Avenue. No. 1820 is on the right, No. 1822 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

The three-story town house at **No. 1822**, finished in 1906, may have been the inspiration for much of the ornamentation on 1810. The effect of cut-stone classical detailing arrayed upon a smooth limestone veneer is sophisticated, but undercut by the loss of the original balustrade atop the porch. The second and third stories are balanced around a bowed oriel with composite pilasters and engaged columns supporting an exaggerated entablature, but the side-entry arrangement of the rusticated first story does not correspond with the symmetry above.

Other variations on the three-story town house with Neoclassical detailing, a flat roof, and a separation of the facade into horizontal registers are **No. 1826**, built in 1907, and **No. 1834**, in 1908. No. 1826 has a two-bay first story, with elliptical fanlights over both entry and front window, but three-bay symmetry above: arched windows and a central French door on the second story, rectangular six-over-one-light windows on the third, with limestone trim throughout. Again, the original balustrade on the porch roof is missing. A two-story half-round bay, pedimented porch, eccentric double window with limestone shouldered architrave over the entry, and limestone cartouches bracketing the third-story windows make 1834 the most eclectic member of this group.

More variations within this group are the two-bay, red-brick house with two-story bay and limestone trim at **No. 1828**, which employs the common Richmond feature of the triple window; and the town house at **No. 1816**, with its clear demarcations between stories, gradual diminution of window height from the first to the third story, and an imbalance in the three-bay facade expressing the side-entry plan. The entry has an elliptical fanlight and intricately divided sidelights, a three-sided oriel with diamond-paned windows at the second story, and a triple window at the third. The roof is hipped, but at such a low pitch as to appear flat from the street. There was a balustrade on the roof of the porch.

Double columns across the full-width porch and curvilinear designs in the upper lights of second- and third-story windows distinguish **1832 Monument Ave.**, but its three-bay facade has the same triple-window emphasis over the entry to the side stair hall (figs. 56, 57). The entry's transom and sidelights are leaded and beveled. This house has the 1800 block's standard limestone jack arches over the windows and brick quoins (although these are oddly set in from the actual corners of the building), and is also missing the balustrade over the porch.

No. **1830 Monument Ave.**, built in 1913 for a wholesale wine and whiskey merchant, is the latest town house on the block. Its facade is two bays wide, with three-sided oriels on the second story and triple windows with jack arches on the third, but its principal embellishments are a fine, bowed columned porch with a Doric entablature that is repeated on a larger scale at the cornice. These emphasize the breadth of the building, and lend it a certain heaviness.

The houses at **No. 1812**, built by 1905, and **1820 Monument**, completed by 1906, are the only two pre-1920 houses on the north side of the block that are not three stories tall. These two-and-a-half-story residences have hipped roofs with dormers and asymmetrical entrances. The former is unusual for its keystones with volutes over windows and entry, the spider web design of the fanlight over the entry, and the absence of a prominent porch. The terrace has a wrought-iron balustrade, and there is an odd, diamond-paned bay window on the first floor. The house was first occupied by the family of Louis W. Pizzini, general manager of a piano, organ, and sheet-music sales company.

Garrett B. Wall, real estate agent for and eventually vice president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, built the house at No. 1820 in 1906. The house originally had balustrades at every level, but the one on the roof has been removed. Paired Doric columns flank the porch stairs at the entry, which has leaded glass sidelights and transom. The cornice below a Palladian dormer has festoons in the frieze. The chain of title begins with Martha Allen and her husband, L. W. Wise, who sold several lots totaling 150' frontage to R. Bruce and Caroline Bowe in 1901. The Bowes, who were involved in real estate development through their business, N. W. Bowe and Son Real Estate and Loans, resided at 1616 W. Grace. After owning the land four years, they sold a parcel of it to Garrett B. Wall in 1905. Wall lived at 302 W. Franklin when he purchased the lot. The Walls built the house and lived there until his death in 1928, when his heirs sold it to Bessie Christian for $40,000. Christian owned the property for more than twelve years until her death in 1941.

The three-bay town house at **No. 1819**, completed in 1905, has a similar cornice and frieze below three dormers in a false mansard roof. The middle dormer has a broken segmental pediment. Cast-iron posts--inappropriate replacements for the original columns--support a one-story balustraded porch.

Residences at **Nos. 1815, 1825, 1831, 1837,** and **1839 Monument** demonstrate the type of larger-scale domestic architecture generally built on wider lots along the south side of the block. Each house is two-and-a-half stories, constructed of red brick, and has a hipped and/or gabled roof. These five houses were built within a six-year period and have several Colonial Revival features in common, including front porches with columns, cornices, and often balustrades; dormer windows; projecting chimneys; detailed transoms, sidelights, or other door decoration; stone jack arches or keystones; and carefully articulated cornices. Some architects whose careers included significant work on Monument Avenue are represented in this grouping of Colonial Revival houses. Captain M. J. Dimmock designed the house at No. 1839, and D. Wiley Anderson in association with I. T. Skinner, No. 1837. Both were constructed in 1908.

No. 1831 is one of the earliest and most severe of these houses, and its deed history reveals the incremental way in which even subdivided land could be purchased on Monument Avenue (fig. 33). The house was built for Henry H. George, Sr., a building contractor, sometime between November 1905 and the publication of the 1906 city directory. The house occupies a 50' x 150' lot today, although the land was originally divided to be sold in lots 30' wide. George purchased a lot from Henry and Clara Wallerstein on April 11, 1904, for $2,700. On the same day he purchased 15' (the western half) of the neighboring lot from Otway S. and Mary M. Allen for $1,500. These lots formed the site of No. 1831. Other land in the possession of H. H. George at the time of his death was accrued through single purchases involving only 5'- or 10'-wide sections of lots at a time, indicating a desire to sell and buy land of any convenient amount. In 1907, George purchased a garage on parts of two lots directly behind his property for $900. The house and garage remained in the possession of his heirs until the mid 1950s. As in other instances on the south side of Monument Avenue, the house and garage occupy separate parcels, were sold under separate deeds, and involve different owners. The present owners of No. 1831 acquired the house in 1960 and do not own the garage.

The residence at **1817 Monument** is stylistically unique among houses on the avenue. An eclectic blend of Stick, Shingle, Queen Anne, and Colonial Revival elements, this two-and-a-half-story brick house incorporates fewer materials than usually found on houses of this nature. The

complex roof of multiple gables with hipped central mass is covered with shingles while an embellished truss elaborates both front and side gables. Fish-scale shingles, a row of glazing, and a rounded cornice occur on the conical roof of the turret. Front gables at the porch and upper half-story are half-timbered but there is little color contrast between materials. Rusticated piers and inner columns at the porch obscure a one-story bay window near the entrance.

Considering the Stick influence upon the style of this house, one might expect it to include more wood exterior elements, especially since the original owner was Bayard H. Ellington, president of Ellington & Guy Lumber Company. Had it been built elsewhere in Richmond, it might look different indeed; however, Allen Addition deed restrictions required that buildings be constructed of brick or stone. In the early 1930s, the Ellingtons defaulted on their mortgage and the bank foreclosed on the property. The house was sold at auction in 1933 for $10,800.

Figure 88 No. 1839 Monument Ave., designed by architect Marion J. Dimmock in 1908. Boucher, HABS.

Another atypical house is **1821 Monument.** Only two bays wide, the house has two pairs of French doors that open onto a front terrace. The tiled and hipped roof with its broad, squat dormer suggests a Prairie influence that distinguishes this brick, two-and-a-half-story house from most other buildings on Monument. It was designed by architect Duncan Lee and built in 1914.

The last buildings constructed on this block were built after 1925 and include Nos. 1800, 1805, and 1808 Monument Ave. The late date of these constructions demonstrates the problem of developing the quadrant lots around the more monumental Lee Circle--perhaps because their cost per frontage foot was three times that of other lots, with less square footage in the lots. Both the red-brick, two-and-a-half-story Georgian Revival houses have hipped roofs with an odd number of dormers, symmetrical facades balanced around a central entry, and louvered shutters at the windows. A fence borders the front of each house.

The house at **1808 Monument** was designed by I. T. Skinner for Allen heir Martha A. Wise. It was completed in 1925. Upon her death in 1928, Wise's will devised the property to the city of Richmond to be used as a public building and memorial to her parents, but the city declined to accept the gift for zoning reasons and it remained a private residence.

William Lawrence Bottomley designed the Georgian Revival house at **1800 Monument** for Robert M. Jeffress and his wife. Between 1899 and 1901, developer William Payne purchased three lots in this quadrant from Martha Wise, holding them for more than twenty years until the American Trust Company acquired the land through foreclosure in 1922. The Jeffresses purchased the property at auction in 1928 for $24,000, applied for a building permit the following

year, and were in residence in their new home by 1930. Robert Jeffress was president of a paper-manufacturing company and an officer and general manager of King Cotton Mills. The Jeffresses, who moved to Monument from an apartment house at 607 N. Davis Ave., lived at 1800 Monument for twenty-six years. The symmetry and proportions of this sophisticated design make it one of the finest houses on the avenue. A slate-covered hipped roof, punctuated by three dormers, crowns the five-bay facade. The house is still the only quadrant lot residence to directly address the monumental prospect of its site.

The high-rise office occupying the entire southwest quadrant at Allen and Monument avenues is Lee Medical Building, **1805 Monument**, built in 1950. It represents post-World War II architecture with a classical-commercial flair. Giant order limestone pilasters contrast with red brick to present a modified temple front, complete with rusticated base, an entablature and cornice between the fourth and fifth floors, and the suggestion of a pediment between the window rows of the fifth and sixth floors. Stringcourses, alternating blocks of contrasting lighter material, and a continuation of the cornice unite the principal facade of the building to side wings of the same height. Crossed bars in the metal spandrels above the sixth-floor windows allude to the design of the flag of the Confederacy. This is the only tall building on the block, although the Shenandoah Apartments (1906) and the former Jefferson Club (1909) on Allen Avenue in the block just north of the Lee Monument had already established a high-rise precedent in its vicinity.

2000 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN MEADOW AND ALLISON STREETS[14]

Running from Meadow to Allison streets, the 2000 block is one of the densest sections of Monument Avenue, with thirty-one buildings. Almost entirely residential, the block was more than two-thirds complete by 1912, and includes one of the earliest houses on the avenue. The land, the last block of the Allen estate, was originally plotted in 30'-wide lots; most of the north side remains as such, while some significantly larger houses were built on the western half of the south side, including one on a 70'-wide lot (No. 2037). Building styles on the block include some Queen Anne examples from the early 1900s, a few eccentricities, and a particularly exuberant Albert F. Huntt house, but the prevailing mode is Colonial Revival. Almost all have red-brick facades.

One of the first houses on Monument Avenue, **No. 2000** was built by 1902, when the street was still West Franklin. The land traded hands only once between the Allen heirs and the

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[14]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 1350, 10546 (2012 Monument), 4183 (2018 Monument), 1052 (2022 Monument), 1289, 1290 (2024 Monument), 6429 (2032 Monument), 3790, 3792 (2036 Monument), 6949 (2009 Monument), 3781, 4327 (2015 Monument), 16943 (2017-19 Monument), 665 (2023 Monument), 9424 (2025 Monument), 2865 (2031 Monument), 6547 (2035 Monument). Deed books: **2000 Monument:** 607D/746, 400C/198, 381D/439, 265A/368, 263A/420, 171C/394, 170B/357, 170B/287; **2004-06 Monument:** 776/1265, 762/526, 742/1429, 699A/108, 254B/374, 240B/432, 181B/282, 179A/344, 174B/425, 175A/28, 171B/77, 170A/442; **2013 Monument:** 218/459, 174/1284, 666D/746, 585C/250, 541/71, 275A/93, 241C/466, 175A/328, 174C/278, 174A/302, 171C/43; **2015 Monument:** 218/459, 590C/164, 548C/103, 226D/118, 221C/43, 174B/442, 174B/276, 171C/43; **2017-19 Monument:** 250/53, 18/1759, 778/1247, 699B/320, 315D/500, 307C/27, 232D/415, 227B/44, 223D/249, 221C/43, 174B/442, 174B/276, 171C/43, 227B/42, 226D/118, 567B/117, 552A/106, 18/1757, 667/149, 589A/205, 478/115, 407A/522, 383D/315; **2020 Monument:** 820/601, 665D/550, 586A/616, 527B/208, 444D/296, 411D/228, 342D/329, 277D/354, 240D/394, 183B/279, 174C/361; **2023 Monument:** 439D/81, 434D/336, 279D/193, 279D/194, 193D/275, 174C/361, 236B/246, 200B/70, 195B/316, 188C/318; **2037 Monument:** 591B/143, 441A/152, 440A/81, 438B/424, 428A/407, 425C/156, 419C/87, 412D/365, 412D/364, 391A/459, 206A/488, 170A/325, 209B/339, 208C/10, 251D/302, 233B/17, 231A/360, 211B/461, 211D/353, 209B/338.

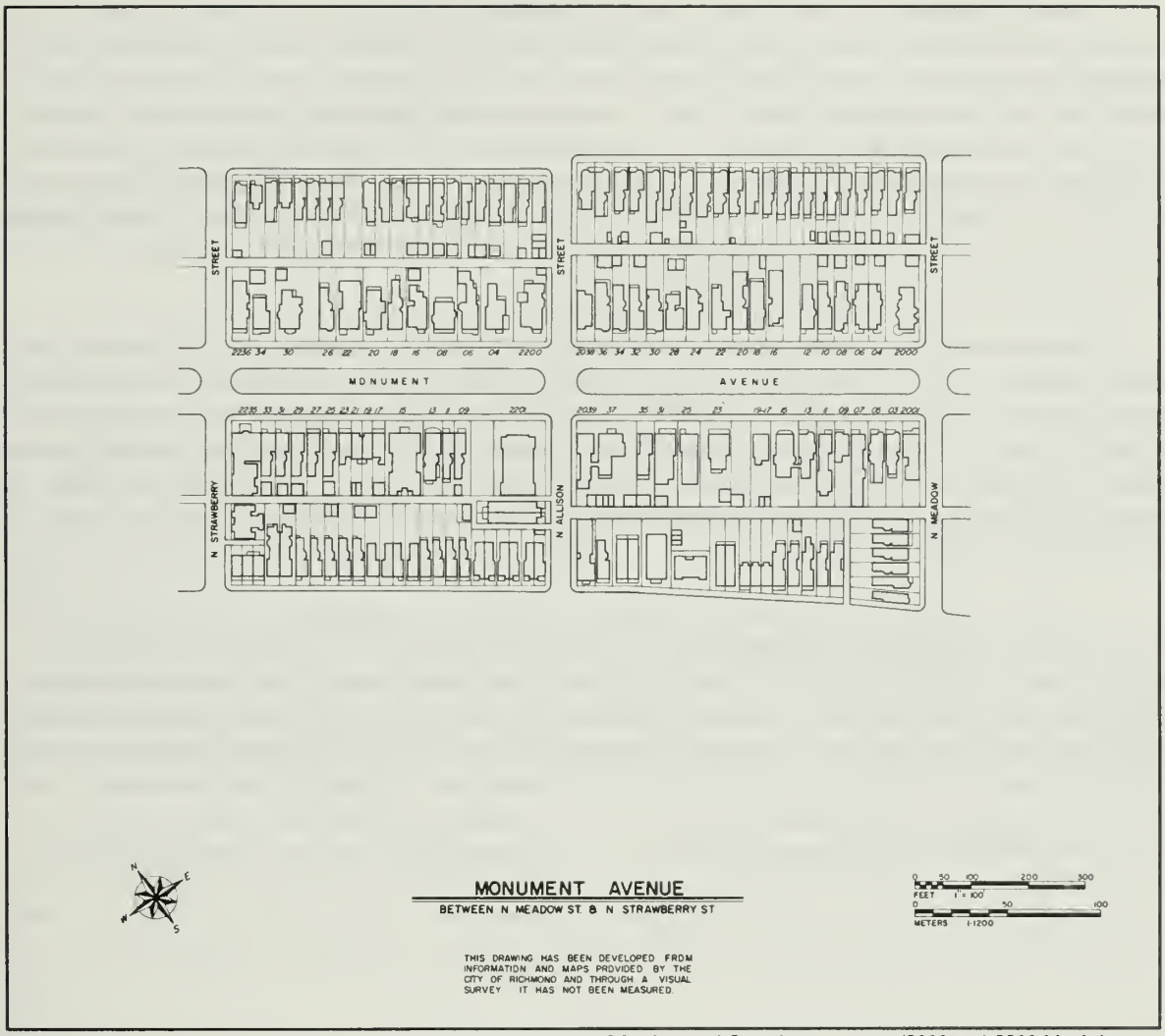

Figure 89 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Meadow and Strawberry streets (2000 and 2200 blocks). Spodek, HABS.

original builder, John S. Harwood: Martha Wise sold two lots at the northeast corner of Meadow to E. G. Higgenbotham for $1,950 on March 9, 1901; two weeks later the Harwood brothers bought them for $2,550, and in July 1901 John S. Harwood gained full possession of the land. R. Henry and John S. Harwood were partners in a wholesale oils business, and were active in real estate trading on Monument Avenue; R. H. Harwood built his house at 2200 Monument in 1910. John and Lottie T. Harwood lived at No. 2000 from 1902 until John's death in 1913; Lottie remained there for two years, then disappeared from the city directories. From 1916 until 1921, banker Melville C. Branch lived at the house, which apparently was tied up in a legal battle, resolved in 1920 when David T. Griffith bought the property at auction for $36,250, selling it two months later for $40,000 to W. Meade Addison, president of Planters National Bank. Addison and his wife, Margaret, sold the house to Linda M. White, an assistant bookkeeper at Miller and Rhoads, and R. Mack Kerr in 1932, but when White and Kerr defaulted on their mortgage, the house returned to Addison. Addison died in 1960, and his heirs sold the property.

Frontal symmetry in 2000 Monument is offset by a strange porch that projects into a semi-circle, not at the corner where it might be expected, but on the western end. Contributing to the asymmetrical effect are a tent-roofed tower to the rear on the east, a bay projecting from the western wall, and an off-center door. The house is two-and-a-half stories and finished with buff brick, with rusticated dark stone stringcourses and corner accents, a five-light dormer, and oval stained-glass windows at the second floor. Taking advantage of its corner lot, No. 2000 has bays on both side facades and a cornice and dark stringcourses that encircle the whole house. Unlike most Monument Avenue houses, it was prepared to stand alone visually in the early 1900s; other town houses of the period clearly anticipated later infill.

Two other houses on the block date from before 1905: No. 2038 at the corner of Allison, and the double house at No. 2004-06. Like No. 2000, both of these stand as houses complete unto themselves. Although built on a 30'-wide lot, **No. 2038** emphasizes the horizontal by a pavilion half the width of the house, paired side chimneys, and a hipped roof interrupted by the pavilion gable and a small gabled dormer. The house is brick, with a double entry. Probably the second entry was to a first-floor office, as Samuel B. Dunstan is the only resident listed in the city directories from 1905 to 1930.

A clear example of a double house is **No. 2004-06,** which maintains a unified front with a large closed front gable, but emphasizes each entry with separate stairs and porches, and side gables. Like No. 2000, No. 2004-06 has ornamented side facades, with a cornice that continues around the building and smaller closed gables on each side. Built in 1904, the house's frontal symmetry, classical cornice, and columned porches show early Colonial Revival influence on the block, combined with massing more typical of the Queen Anne style. The entrances at the sides are slightly recessed due to the projection of the front gable. A Palladian window, with the middle arch bricked in, fills the center gable, and smaller gabled dormers on the wings repeat the arched window.

Figure 90 North side of 2000 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2000 is on the right. Boucher, HABS.

Oliver J. Sands, president of the American National Bank, bought two lots at Nos. 2004 and 2006 in 1902; in 1903 he deeded the land to his wife, Lucile R. Sands. The Sandses built the house, living at No. 2004 until 1916. R. H. Harwood bought No. 2004 from the Sandses in 1914, and rented it to a series of tenants, with Dr. Herbert Mann staying throughout the 1920s. Susan Burr bought the unit at No. 2006 in 1904 and, with her husband, Austin H., president of a vinegar-manufacturing company, lived in the house until 1915. In 1916 the Burrs moved to the Westmoreland Club on East Grace Street, selling No. 2006 to J. L. Shepherd of North Carolina in 1916; he rented the property from 1918 through the 1920s to Dr. Alfred L. Gray.

The earliest town houses on the 2000 block, built between 1904 and 1907, are in the Queen Anne style, with variations in detail. Each is brick, three stories, with false-mansard roof and a three-story bay capped by a tent roof. Each has a one-story columned porch, with transom and sidelights by the door, and paired arched windows at the third floor. Egg-and-dart panels, limestone sills and keystones, and a balustraded porch deck are featured on **Nos. 2005, 2013** and **2034,** which vary in coloring. Dr. H. C. Tabb lived at No. 2005 for only five years, from 1904 until 1909, when he moved up the block to No. 2028; E. B. Jones, along with Clyde Ratcliffe, occupied No. 2034 from 1907 until 1916. Florence B. and D. C. Richardson lived at No. 2013 from 1906 until 1918.

A more monolithic, Italianate example of the town house is **No. 2003**, with a tile roof, low-pitched tent, heavy modillions at the roof and porch cornices, and uniformly dark coloring. Limestone is used as banding on the first floor, for sills, lintels and surrounds on the second story, and for a series of arched windows on the third. Samuel Bachrach lived at No. 2003 from 1907 until 1925, when Mrs. B. R. Bachrach is listed.

Modified versions of the typical two-and-a-half-story false-mansard Fan District house appear on the 2000 block of Monument Avenue. Most typical is **No. 2001**, with its two pedimented dormers, full front porch concealing the change in window treatment between first and second floors, triple window at the first floor, and off-center entrance. A broken pediment decorates the triple window, with limestone jack arches above the second-floor six-over-one-light windows.

Diamond panes in a large front wall dormer, Tudor arches at the entrance and above the porch, and limestone banding lend eclectic touches to **No. 2008**, built in 1906 for W. W. Marston. Next door, **No. 2010** is constructed of buff brick, with limestone window surrounds, brick bands of rustication at the first floor, and a full-width porch supported by paired columns. The roof is embellished at the cornice with heavy modillions and above with metal cresting; the two dormers have elaborate broken pediments and a diamond figure in the windows.

Architect H. C. Smith's design for **No. 2022** divides the facade unevenly in fourths, with two matched dormers above. The house sits on a 40'-wide lot, taking advantage of the extra footage with a recessed wing on the east side, while maintaining a two-bay facade. Decorative sidelights garnish the door and two of the windows, with an elliptical arch and fanlight above the first-floor window. The door is off-center beneath the one-story porch, as is the window above. A more successful effort along similar lines is Albert Huntt's design at 2614 Monument.

The rhythmic pattern established by the balustrade at the first and second floors of **No. 2032** is picked up by the vertical muntins in the three dormers and second-floor windows. The

Figure 91 South side of 2000 block of Monument Avenue; No. 2001 is on left. Boucher, HABS.

entry has a four-light door, with leaded and beveled transom and sidelights. The full-width porch, with deck above, shades a triple window on the first floor. Side chimneys, a single three-window hipped dormer, and a second-floor oriel emphasize the central entrance at **No. 2039**, now attached at the rear to No. 2037. A transom and drip hood supported by consoles mark the door; the double-hung windows are notable for their diamond panes and limestone end- and keystones in the splayed brick jack arches. No. 2039 was the home of Dr. R. C. Walden from 1908 until 1913.

In 1914, George F. Jones hired architect Albert Huntt to design a house that took the basic false-mansard model and covered the facade with a variety of projections. A steep, oversized hipped roof rises above the central roof line on **No. 2031,** and is interrupted by an elaborate wall dormer with balustraded balcony. Underneath is a central oriel, with six-over-one-light windows that match the other two on the second floor. Stone quoins define the corners of the building, and four pairs of columns and exaggerated brackets support a shed-roofed porch. The door is off-center, but is minimalized by the symmetry of the rest of the building.

Two years after No. 2031 was built, architect Huntt took a slightly more genteel approach in designing **No. 2015,** still embellishing the false mansard to the point at which it is barely recognizable. A large hipped roof with three gabled dormers dominates the facade at the top, while an elliptical porch with half-fluted columns below and balustrade above wraps around the full first floor. On the second floor, two small oriels crowd in as many details as possible, including Ionic columns, an elaborate scroll pediment with dentil work, and nine-over-one-light

windows. The facade is perfectly symmetrical in everything but the door itself, which is placed to the right; Huntt hides this detail with sidelights and an elliptical fanlight, so as to match the triple window to the left. The house sits on a 50'-wide lot, larger than most on this block, and is currently attached to No. 2013 by a narrow connector in the rear. Joseph E. Sorg, vice president of the Millhiser Bag Company, bought the land for No. 2015 from Peter Gonnella for $12,000 in 1914. The Sorgs lived in the house from 1916 until they died, Joseph in 1940 and his widow, Carrie A. Sorg, in 1946. Their son, W. Stuart Sorg, Sr., inherited the house and passed it to his son, W. Stuart, Jr., who sold the property in 1953.

The white-painted brick house at **No. 2028** is unique on the block for its spare, blocky facade. Although the house has the bilateral symmetry typical of a Colonial Revival house, the emphasis is concentrated in the arched windows and broken pediments that ornament the paired dormers towering above the low hipped roof. Like its neighbors at Nos. 2024 and 2022, No. 2028 sits on a 40'-wide lot, but it is the only one of the three to present a primarily horizontal facade, with three generously spaced bays. Dr. H. C. Tabb was the first resident of No. 2028, living there from 1909 until 1915.

On a somewhat grander scale than the two-and-a-half-story false-mansard houses, the three-story flat-roofed residences on this block also use a variety of facade treatments within the Colonial Revival style. Overall, they present a flat, rectangular front to the street, using an urban vocabulary that makes few distinctions between apartments and single-family homes. In the middle of the north side, Nos. 2012, 2020, and 2024 are all three-story three-bay townhouses, built for single families.

Like No. 2028, **No. 2024** includes a small recessed wing on its 40'-wide lot, retaining a symmetrical facade with a central oriel at the second story and full-height brick pilasters at the corners. The entrance is at the left, matched in height by paneled windows on the first floor. D. Wiley Anderson designed this house, which was built in 1909-10.

Scarborough and Howell were the architects of the house at **No. 2012**, built in 1909-10 as a single-family dwelling. The facade, with a tall attic story above a secondary cornice, is significantly higher than the bulk of the building. Fenestration varies between floors with rectangular attic lights, arched third-floor windows, a pair above the porch on the second floor, and a triple window at ground level. Original elements also include a wooden balustrade above the porch and striped awnings, at one time common throughout the Fan District. A. W. Bennett lived at 2012 from 1908 until 1910, when Moses and Sara Rosenbloom took residence.

The earliest of the three-story buildings on the block, **No. 2020** was designed by the architectural firm Noland & Baskervill before 1906. One of the few houses with a limestone veneer, it has a particularly smooth front, relieved by a rusticated first floor, limestone detailing, and a balustrade above the cornice. Classical Revival details include shouldered architraves around the windows, consoles over the second-story windows, and a small columned entry porch with cast-iron balustrade above. The roof is a low-pitched, tin-covered false mansard, with a segmental-arched dormer.

Wirt A. Chesterman, a general contractor, bought this lot in 1904 for $2,550 from real estate speculators Harwood and Funsten. He lived at the house from 1906 until 1916, when it was acquired for $19,500 by Dr. M. Pierce Rucker as part of the settlement in a suit between the

Richmond Structural Steel Company and Chesterman's administrator. The Ruckers lived at No. 2020 until 1922, when they moved to 400 Stuart Circle and sold the house to Julie M. VanderHoof, who moved there with her husband, Dr. Douglas VanderHoof, from 309 W. Franklin. Julie VanderHoof devised the property to her husband and apparently died, as he and his new wife Nancy S. VanderHoof moved to Henrico County and sold the house in 1927 to Randolph C. Harrison. Harrison owned 2020 until 1938, when he sold it to G. C. Kirkmyer, who held the property until 1950.

Although built eight years apart, **Nos. 2030** and **2036 Monument** use similar three-story bays in their massing. A wide porch with paired columns attaches to the bay on the former; there is a French door at the second floor, and a pair of slender windows at the third. More uniform in its window and door treatment, No. 2036 uses light brick, shouldered architraves and consoles for a more Classical effect. The bay windows are wider in the front than on the sides, and the building overall emphasizes solidity rather than verticality. Built by 1907, No. 2030 was occupied from 1908 until 1920 by the Ullman family. Isaac Hutzler lived at No. 2036 from 1915 until 1922, and Emanuel Hutzler is listed in 1923. Asbury and Whitehurst designed the building, constructed in 1914.

The three multi-family residences on the 2000 block were built in 1909, 1915, and 1918. All have two-story porches, but are otherwise similar to the other three-story houses on the block. First was the Stafford at **No. 2007**, which employs Classical details including a rich entablature, architraves, and stone quoins through the second story. The floors are distinguished by differing window treatments, including French doors onto the first-floor terrace and second-floor boxed column porch. Three families lived at No. 2007 in 1910, including Lawrence Sycle, who apparently built and lived in the Lawrence at **No. 2018** in 1915.

Like the Stafford, the Lawrence has four bays, with a giant order two-story porch. Decorative elements include transoms above the French doors on every level, limestone elements in the splayed jack arches, and a frieze with swag ornamentation. Only Sycle is listed in the 1915 city directory; in 1916, Sycle, Minna Sycle, Theo Nelson and W. B. Nelson are listed. By 1920, Lawrence Sycle and two different residents are listed.

Built in 1918, **No. 2011** belongs more to the eclectic group of 1920s buildings than to the earlier three-story houses; it is also more clearly a multi-family residence, with a stairwell entrance bay defined by two large multi-light windows and a broken pediment over the door. The two-story porch attaches to the other side of the facade, and is accessible on all three floors by paired French doors. The side-gable roof is tiled. Three families lived at No. 2011 in 1918; today the building contains four condominiums.

Houses built on the 2000 block during the 1920s are harder to characterize than the earlier two-and-a-half- or three-story residences. Stylistically they are infill, picking up the vocabulary of the block but altering the built forms.

During the 1920s, only one more of the two-and-a-half-story false mansards was built. At **No. 2009,** a front gable rises to the top of the roof line, and is crowded with three windows and gable returns. Squat columns on brick piers support a pedimented porch, with a wide oriel above. The brickwork, Flemish bond with glazed headers, fits with 1920s predilections for European style and texture. The house was built in 1919 by Harvey C. Brown, who lived here for two years.

Also two-and-a-half stories, but with a steep side-gable jerkinhead roof, **No. 2035** is organized with a central focus. The entrance hood is supported by two columns, and lines up at the roof level with a single shed dormer with a series of four-pane windows. Arched multi-light French doors flank the entry on either side, with a row of six-over-one-light sash above. Architects Carneal and Johnston designed this house, which was built in 1919-20. The Norvell family lived here from 1921 until 1923; M. L. Corey then occupied the house until 1927.

Architect Duncan Lee's design for **No. 2017-19**, built in 1927, is notable for its combination of office and residential space. The three-story house is symmetrical, with identical doors on either side of a triple window. One door led to a doctor's office on the first floor, while the other led upstairs to the family's living quarters, further defined by a Palladian French door on the second floor. A hipped roof meets the keystones of the four matched third-floor windows at the cornice. Dr. Henry A. Bullock bought the 40'-wide lot at No. 2017-19 from Lee and Alma Fergusson in 1925. Four years earlier, the Fergussons had acquired the land for $8,325. Bullock had the house built and lived there until he died in 1933; in 1934, Mabel G. Bullock was living at No. 2017, while renting out No. 2019 to Dr. J. Kirk Richardson. Henry A. Bullock, Jr., inherited the property when Mabel Bullock died in 1975; he and his wife sold it in 1984 to the NWR Partnership. In 1955, Henry, Jr., and his brother, John Boyd Bullock, acquired a garage across the alley that originally belonged to the Elmwood Apartments at 2032 Park Ave., and in 1984 the NWR Partnership acquired the lot next door at No. 2021 for additional parking.

The only two-story house on the 2000 block was built in 1922 as a duplex for Milton S. Straus. Straus and Joseph M. Rosenbaum lived at **No. 2025** from 1924 through the end of the decade. The two floors are nearly identical, with paired windows on the left and a two-story Neoclassical porch on the right, which is supported by giant-order paired Corinthian columns, pilasters at the rear, a pediment, and a geometrical pattern in the entablature.

Two of the most eccentric houses on Monument grace the south side of the 2000 block. Both are large, built at the end of the first decade on oversized lots, and each has an unusual chain of ownership. Designed by Claude K. Howell and built by R. E. Elmore and Company in 1908, **No. 2023** is stuccoed brick with half-timbering throughout the upper stories (fig. 55). A Tudor Revival house with considerable Stick-style influence, it has a grand front gable with a large bargeboard and bracketed overhanging eaves (repeated as a pediment in the porch roof), multi-light windows throughout, and decorative quatrefoils punched through the wood porch rail. Windows abound: a pair in the attic, a diamond-paned band of six at the second story, and on the first floor a band of four full-height windows with transoms along with a multi-paned door to the left and a balancing pair on the right. Although now painted completely white, the half-timbering was originally brown, making the house visually less overbearing than it is today.

In 1907, Laura Hoadly Johnson, a widow, arrived in Richmond and bought a 40'-wide lot on Monument Avenue. In 1908 she purchased an additional 5' to the east and commissioned the building, at an approximate cost of $12,000. Although the final building inspection was complete in September 1908, the house is listed as vacant in 1909. Johnson occupied the building in 1910, but owned the house for only eight years; in 1915 she died in Vancouver, British Columbia, leaving the property in trust to her daughter, Mary Hoadly Scarborough. Johnson's trustees sold the house in 1916 for $30,000 to Horace S. Hawes, who bought an additional 5' strip of land to the east; Hawes lived there until his death in 1931, whereupon it went to his widow. Mary

McCaw Hawes remarried, living with her new husband at No. 2023 until 1942. The property changed hands again in 1943, when the current owner purchased it.

Down the block, at **No. 2037,** is what appears to be an institutional building, currently used by the Methodist Church as a Residence for Women in Transition. Sitting on a lot nearly 75' wide, the structure is twice the standard house width on the block. Each story is regular and symmetrical, with two full-height openings on either side of the entry at the first floor, six windows with decorative Beaux Arts molded-stone semi-circles above, and paired and triple attic windows. The entrance porch has an elaborate entablature, paired Ionic columns, and a balcony above.

Belying its institutional appearance, No. 2037 was constructed in 1911 by builder John T. Wilson as a single-family home. Wilson bought two parcels of land in 1910: 60' in March from Harwood and Funsten, and an additional 5' in November from Nellie S. Allport. John and his wife, Rosa, lived together in the house until the early 1930s when John apparently died. The property was deeded to Rosa O. Wilson in 1934 "for love and affection"; in 1938 she sold it to the Virginia College of Commerce and Law, but when they defaulted on the $22,500 deed of trust the next year, she bought it back for $15,000. In 1941 she sold it again for $14,000. The property changed hands several times during the 1940s, eventually passing to the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, which in 1959 deeded it, along with No. 2039, to the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church.

The last house built within the boundaries of the Monument Avenue Historic District was part of the impetus for the formation of an architectural review board committed to preserving the original fabric of the avenue. Built during the 1960s, **No. 2016** is the only example at the eastern end of the street of modern infill. The intrusion is unmistakably out of context: a one-story modern commercial building in the International style, with an additional setback and entry recessed at the rear of a long side porch. It has a glass front with stained vertical board above, and a "No Trespassing" sign at the entrance.

2200 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN ALLISON AND STRAWBERRY STREETS[15]

Between Allison and Strawberry streets, the 2200 block is the first land beyond the Allen estate to become part of Monument Avenue. After Monument Avenue was widened west of

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[15]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 808 (2204 Monument); 1309 (2206 Monument); 1350 (2216 Monument); 1535 (2218 Monument); 598 (2220 Monument); 3572 (2230 Monument); 3451 (2234 Monument); 3684 (2205-07 Monument); 1446 (2209-11 Monument); 967 (2213 Monument); 2498 (2215 Monument); 4953 (2217-23); 4320 (2225 Monument); 3198 (2227-29 Monument); 12627 (2235 Monument). Deed books: **2200 Monument**: 189B/359, 193A/410, 425B/163, 440B/163, 596C/181, 763/39; **2208 Monument**: 131A/248, 188A/4, 187A/449, 193B/333, 203D/50, 420D/208, 449C/332, 614B/644, 730/1715; **2226 Monument**: 144C/316, 186A/42, 193A/364, 248A/45, 248C/230, 250D/368, WB23/254, WB30/27, 435B/214, 509A/385, 509A/287, 512D/179, 532A/33, 16/283, 248/339; **2211 Monument**: 200D/172, 207C/499; **2215 Monument**: 184C/15, 185A338, 195B/429, 200C/387, 241C/218, 247B/56, 257A/318, 274/149, 315C/458, 357B/411, 390A/141, 403C/296, 411A/149, 440D/64, 533D/38, 591B/544, 636D/636, 642C/159; **2217 Monument**: 213A/162, 248D/411, 275/22, 516D/539, 526C/278, 565C/459, 586B/231, 594C/242, 679D/53, 685B/332, 758/602, 812/1614; **2227-29 Monument**: 188B/41, 188A/113, 200D/172, 208A/46, 210D/433, 212C/439, 220D/475, 229B/331, 397C/52, 409D/549, 453A/142, 526B/439, 575B/ 577, 631D/352, 722/689; **2235 Monument**: 299B/73, 406B/125, 476/547, 679A/1, 760/1661, 9/565.

Allison Street to 140' (from the original 80' of Franklin), the lots were shortened from 150' to 130' in depth, and the alleys shifted from 20' to 15' wide as the property lines were pushed back. Most of the block was built during the 1910s, with the larger corner lots on the south side standing empty until after 1925. Despite the short developmental time span, the north and south sides demonstrate remarkable differences in scale and style.

The closest thing on Monument Avenue to a series of coordinated, speculatively built row houses was erected on the 2200 block in the space of a few years, 1910-18. It was unusual for one developer to retain control of more than 100' of frontage on the avenue; by the time most houses went up, lots were often distributed among dozens of individuals. However, even on the 2200 block, the row houses are only found on the south side, and are visually punctuated by a church at the corner of Allison, an elaborate Mediterranean-style apartment complex on the east end, and a large apartment building in the middle of the block. On the north side of the 2200 block, development proceeded in a more typical fashion, resulting in a number of Colonial Revival three-story town houses--most of them built around 1910--along with the grand residences commonly perceived as standard on Monument Avenue.

The earliest house on the block, at **No. 2226,** was built in 1905. Like some of the earlier three-story town houses on the 1600 block, it has a two-story bay, a false mansard roof (here without a hip), and arched windows at the first and third floors. The arches are all accented by a rowlock of bricks and keystones painted white. Transoms top all windows except at the second-floor bay; the side window and fanlight over the door are stained glass.

Early ownership of No. 2226 is somewhat unclear, but apparently N. W. Bowe, as a trustee for Adeline Brauer, acquired the property in July 1905 as the result of a suit between the Allison and Addison real estate interests. In the 1905 city directory, 2226 W. Franklin's occupants are listed as Philip C. Schloss and Frederick C. Brauer, president and manager of the Brauer Cattle Company; from 1906 to 1915 Brauer alone is listed. In 1918 he moved to Brooklyn, New York; in the same year R. H. Harwood purchased the property for $11,000 and sold it to the Laburnum Corporation, which in turn sold it to Henry Alexander White from Columbia, South Carolina. Henry and his wife, Fannie B. W. White, occupied the house, which stayed in the family until 1948, when Fannie's sister sold it.

Figure 92 North side of the 2200 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2200 is on right, No. 2204 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

Four other three-story residences were built on the 2200 block, all on the north side, between 1908 and 1911. Unlike town houses on the 2000 block, which for the most part emphasize a flat facade, these use various methods to visually break up their rectangular mass. Considering the short timespan, close spatial proximity, and common vocabulary of Italianate and Colonial Revival styles, the detailing on each is remarkably different.

At **No. 2206,** striped awnings (once a common feature on Fan District houses) add to the rhythms created by limestone beltcourses, window surrounds, keystones, and the balustrades on a full-width one-story porch. The house occupies an unusually large percentage of its lot. A. C. Higginbotham designed the house for Emanuel H. Gunst. John Bagby occupied No. 2206 from 1911 until at least 1930.

Differing window treatments at **No. 2220** include two pairs of arched windows on the third floor, a bowed oriel on the second, and a triple window with elliptical fanlight on the first. Another window, remodelled, sits over the Corinthian-columned entry porch. Architect C. K. Howell designed the house for Harry S. Binswanger, who lived at No. 2220 from 1910 until 1930, when Rebecca W. Binswanger is listed.

Although the roof of **No. 2218** is technically a mansard, the house reads as a three-story town house because of the full-sized pedimented dormer windows. Classical detailing includes limestone quoins, jack arches, and a shouldered architrave around the second-floor French doors. An oversized entry porch with filetted corners attaches to the two-story bay. Like his neighbors, the first resident of No. 2218, Leroy S. Cohen, lived there for more than twenty years. Scarborough and Howell were the architects.

In the house at **No. 2222** a gambrel roof tops the familiar two-bay two-story form, a fairly unusual combination on Monument Avenue. H. S. Binswanger occupied this house in 1908 before he moved to No. 2220; Leon Wallerstein lived at No. 2222 from 1911 until 1924.

The Addison at **No. 2236,** built by 1910, is one of several apartment buildings on Monument Avenue designed to blend in with the one-family houses around it. A single entry, full-width porch with deck above, and differing window treatments on all three floors help disguise its three-family design. In plan, however, the long rectangular block of No. 2236 is similar to other apartments on the street.

Also built about 1910 were four two-and-a-half-story residences--Nos. 2208, 2216, 2200, and 2204--that suggest a more suburban approach to the street, with low hipped rooflines and a horizontal emphasis. Two houses with the same facade massing at **Nos. 2200** and **2216** sit on 57'- and 40'-wide lots, respectively. Each has an entry gable flanked by a bay of equal width, with single dormer above. While they differ in detailing--No. 2216 has a triple window on the first floor, and a bowed oriel over the entry; No. 2200 features a wrap-around terrace, and French doors onto the porch deck--each can be read as two-thirds of a Colonial mansion, modified to fit the streetscape of the 1910s. In fact, the "missing" wing on No. 2200 is almost supplied visually by the corner view incorporating the side facade on Allison. Oils wholesaler and land speculator R. Henry Harwood bought 155' of land at the corner of Monument and Allison in 1907 for $22,800, and built a house on the corner by 1911, when he moved in. In 1941 the Harwoods sold the house to Elizabeth D. Merritt, who sold it again in 1943 to Mabel S. Saville. In 1959, the

Virginia Missionary Society bought the property, selling it to the present owners in 1980. The other house, No. 2216, was designed by Scarborough and Howell and built in 1909-10.

Grander than No. 2200 and sitting on a 57'-wide lot is **No. 2204,** originally owned by Mary D. Barksdale. Most prominent are the elaborate one-story Doric porches, one at the entry and another on the eastern side of the house. The side porch emphasizes the three-bay width of the house, as does the hipped roof, while tall side chimneys and two pedimented dormers accent the height of the building. Architect Albert F. Huntt designed this building, completed in 1909.

The house at **No. 2208** is the only one on Monument Avenue to show a significant Prairie-style influence. With its double-bracketed, exaggerated eaves, long four-light dormer, low-hipped roof, light-colored Roman brick, full-width porch, and cottage windows, 2208 is an anomaly in Richmond. Still, the house contributes a certain Colonial Revival symmetry and detailing to the general character of the block. Emanuel H. Gunst, a wholesale liquor dealer who lived on North Harrison Street, bought the lot at No. 2208 in 1909 for $8,145, and built his house by 1910. He also built the house next door at No. 2206 as a rental. The Gunst family owned No. 2208 through the 1930s; Emanuel's widow Hattie L. Gunst sold it in 1940 to Wilbur M. Havens, who sold it in 1945 to Emmett E. Perkinson. The house stayed in the Perkinson family until 1962.

The last two houses on the north side were built next to each other in 1913 and 1914, at **Nos. 2230** and **2234**, respectively. Some Prairie influence shows in the latter, with its hipped roof, single wide dormer, and wide eaves, but the horizontality is less exaggerated than at No. 2208. C. B. Richardson had the house built and lived there for several decades. D. Wiley Anderson designed No. 2230 for Moses I. Binswanger; its green tile roof and elaborate dormers place it as a contemporary of the Anderson houses on the 2700 block. Sited on a 76'-wide lot, No. 2230 is the only house on the block with a side yard, a luxury in contrast to the tightly spaced houses across the street.

Harvey C. Brown developed most of the south side of the 2200 block. Built as several separate ventures, the houses on the odd side of the 2200 block are actually not all attached, and they vary in both plan and facade. Monument Avenue houses rarely share common walls; a distance between buildings was required for most subdivisions. However, the eleven houses that form the character of the south side of the block read as a group; all are brick Colonial Revival town houses, arranged in a series of units with consistent fenestration patterns and matching roof and cornice lines. All are two-and-a-half stories, with gabled dormers and stepped parapets flanking false mansard roofs. Lot widths are uneven, ranging between 20' and 30'.

Brown's first venture was two double houses at Nos. 2209-11 and 2231-33, built in 1910. Here he hired contractor George D. Priddy; for the subsequent developments, Brown himself is listed as builder. The double house at **No. 2209-11** is distinctive for the matching five-light bowed oriels at the second floor. Both sides have large Palladian dormers and separate but identical full-width columned porches. The fire wall is visible only as a roof parapet, and the roofs are subtly distinguished by slight variations in the fish-scale shingle patterns. Harvey C. Brown lived at No. 2209 from 1911 until 1914. A 1910 building permit lists Brown as the owner of all four of these buildings, but according to deed records, at least, No. 2209-11 was owned by Mary Etta Brown, Harvey's mother. The Browns sold No. 2211 three months after it was built to Morton B. Rosenbaum, who lived there until 1916. In 1919, John D. Clothier, secretary/treasurer of the

Figure 93 South side of 2200 block of Monument Avenue. Left to right: Nos. 2217, 2219, 2221, 2223, and 2225. Boucher, HABS.

Hopkins Furniture Company, bought the property, transferring it in 1924 to his wife, Fanny Clothier. The Clothiers are not listed in the 1927 city directory, and the principal of a leaf-tobacco company is living at No. 2211. In 1933 the Clothiers took out an $8,000 loan on the house; when they defaulted in 1937, the property was sold at auction for $6,000.

At the same time, Harvey C. Brown built the double house at **No. 2231-33**. Each side has three dormers, lined up with the second-floor windows, and a triple window below. Whereas No. 2209-11 were mirror images, No. 2231-33 are duplicates, with matching entrance porches. No resident is listed in the city directory for No. 2231 until 1911 or for No. 2233 until 1912. The estimated construction cost for the four row houses was $40,000 in 1910.

Brown's next houses on the block were built in 1913 at **No. 2227-29**. These, too, have tile roofs, although the building permit specifies slate and tin. Each is on a 28' lot, slightly larger than their neighbors, with steep roof lines matching those on No. 2231-33. Both have two unequal bays and dormers, with slight differences in the fenestration. Construction cost was estimated at $20,000 for the two; the architect was I. T. Skinner. The next year, Brown built another double house at No. 2205-07, since demolished. It was apparently more modest than No. 2227-29, as it cost only $12,000 to build.

Brown next built the four attached houses--**Nos. 2217, 2219, 2221** and **2223**--between April 1916 and February 1917, also designed by I. T. Skinner. Each has two tall dormers; the three

second-floor windows, with shutters, cover the entire width of the building. Original shed-roof porches are missing on Nos. 2219 and 2221, and the cornice has been replaced on No. 2217. The roof material on the building permit is listed as tin and slate, but three of the four houses now have tile roofs. Alterations over time and individual paint jobs now distinguish the four houses, but originally they formed a symmetrical composition. None was occupied until 1918 when H. C. Brown is listed at No. 2223; the rest apparently stood empty until 1919. Brown and his wife, Hester Cabell Tabb Brown, sold No. 2217 in 1918 to the Laburnum Corporation, the real estate group headed by the Bryan brothers. Jonathan Bryan lived there until 1922, when Ellen Beirne Blair Wilson bought the property. Richard T. Wilson, a clerk, is listed at No. 2217 in 1922; apparently the Wilson family then rented the house until Richard T. Wilson, Jr., sold it in 1949. The property changed hands eight times in the next forty years.

In 1917, before he lived at No. 2223, Brown lived next door at **No. 2225,** which was built in 1915--another I. T. Skinner design. Although similar to the houses on either side, No. 2225 stands alone, with a roofline below those to the west of it and slightly higher than those to the east. With its three dormers perfectly aligned with the first- and second-floor windows, and regular brickwork (every other header on an English bond is glazed), No. 2225 is the most box-like of the row.

Breaking up the row houses are larger buildings that vary greatly in both scale and style, but they work together to keep the 2200 block a logical section of Monument Avenue. Cutting Nos. 2209-11 off from the other row houses is **No. 2213,** a three-story town house more in keeping with the other side of the street. Like most of the north side, it was built by 1910 and was the first structure on the south side. Albert F. Huntt designed the building for owner Sam Bendheim. Although at 33' wide its lot is only slightly larger than the row houses, No. 2213 reads as a much bigger house, with its full-width elliptical porch and four-bay third story. Both the roofline and the second story are slightly higher on No. 2213 than on the neighboring houses.

The Brooke Apartments, at **No. 2215,** were designed by Carneal and Johnston and built in 1912. A Beaux Arts-style building, it has a basement arcade, limestone veneer at the first floor creating a *piano nobile* effect, a Classical cornice, a roofline balustrade, and elaborate window treatment. The Brooke is unusual on Monument Avenue in its almost institutional appearance, its large flat facade relieved only by a one-story entrance porch and small balconies at the third floor. W. Creed Davis bought the land for No. 2215 in 1909, but held onto it for three years before undertaking construction. Carneal was Davis's partner in the building-supply company of Sitterding-Carneal-Davis; Frederick Sitterding was the president of several real estate organizations, including the Brook Turnpike Company, the German-American Building and Loan Corporation, and the Highland Park Company. George Priddy was the contractor for the Brooke. In 1916 Davis sold it to T. Garnett Tabb, repurchasing the property in 1917 as the Davis Brothers Inc., and selling again in 1919. The building was sold at auction in 1934 for $30,000 after the owners defaulted, and it changed hands several times before 1966, when the present owner bought it.

At the end of the block, on the southeast corner at Strawberry Street, is another unusual apartment complex. Built by 1926, the Rixey Court Apartments at **No. 2235** are more glamorous than the Colonial Revival styles dominating the block (fig. 51). The building was designed by architect Bascom J. Rowlett, clearly for an upscale clientele: only three tenants occupied three floors fronting 50' on Monument; six more units received an Addison Street address. Rixey Court

is primarily a Mediterranean Revival design, but like the Brooke it incorporates some Beaux Arts elements that lend it an urban formality. Unlike the Brooke, however, the charm of Rixey Court lies in its three-dimensional facade, with two pavilions flanking a central massing that steps back from arcaded porch to balcony to elliptical bay. The apartments are white stucco, with a low hipped roof and a decorative cornice. The suggestion of rusticated ashlar is made on the center bay and is carried through in the two chimneys.

Manie Y. Lipscomb bought the land for Rixey Court in 1923 for $17,850 from William H. Palmer. She lived there through the 1920s, but in 1937 she defaulted on her $60,000 deed of trust. The property was bought for $42,500 by William A. Moncure as a trustee for Mary D. Barksdale, three decades after he acquired the property for No. 2204. Moncure sold it to Randolph Hunter Barksdale in 1947, who held the property until 1972. Dr. W. W. Rixey is listed as a resident in 1928; in 1929 Fannie L. Rixey boarded with Manie Lipscomb.

The last building constructed on the block was the most monumental: the First Church of Christ Scientist, at **No. 2201** on the southwest corner of Monument Avenue and Allison Street. A Neoclassical stone temple, it has a five-bay facade fronting 90' on the avenue. Two-story engaged columns flank the entrance, with pilasters framing the side doors. A pediment sits above the entrance, with the words "GOD IS LOVE" engraved below. The name of the church is engraved in the flat front parapet. The church, built in the 1930s, separates itself from the rest of the block with a greater setback and an empty lot on the west side. The architect, Marcellus Wright, was one of the trustees of the church.

2300 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN STRAWBERRY STREET AND DAVIS AVENUE[16]

The 2300 block of Monument Avenue is bounded by Strawberry Street (formerly Addison) on the east and Davis Avenue (formerly Cedar) on the west. This block has fewer buildings and wider lots than most other blocks on the avenue, giving it a greater sense of space, especially on the south side, where lots are typically twice and sometimes as much as three times the width of lots on the north side of the block. All nineteen of the buildings on this block are single-family houses. At the intersection of Monument and Davis avenues is the monument to Jefferson Davis, a grand Beaux Arts endeavor. A giant column surmounted by the allegorical figure Vindicatrix is framed by a Doric colonnade; the statue of Davis is overwhelmed. Richmond sculptor Edward V. Valentine designed the two figures, while local architect W. C. Noland was responsible for the elaborate setting. The site was chosen nearly a year after the design was accepted in November 1903. The statue was unveiled in June 1907.

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[16]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 13461 (2304 Monument); 3340 (2306 Monument); 16415 (2320 Monument); 3558 (2324 Monument); 2925 (2326 Monument); 2889, 7434 (2330 Monument); 1059 (2338 Monument); 1004 (2340 Monument); 14566 (2301 Monument); 4579, 4580 (2307 Monument); 5213 (2309 Monument); 9736 (2315 Monument); 3771 (2325 Monument); 3120, 3389 (2327 Monument). Deed Books: **2327 Monument**: 127A/20, 148A/472, 187A/002, 191C/250, 218A/360, 500C/263, 528B/454, 603B/130; **2325 Monument**: 125B/274, 219C/493, 222A/139, 258C/189, 223B/17, 222B/150, 820/111; **2307 Monument**: 125B/274, 195C/299, 125B/274, 232C/181, 252D/413, 426A/119, 257A/181, 493D/223,221, 663C/68, 736/126; **2304 Monument**: 118/4, 295A/179, 568B/134, 571D/465, Will Book 130/191, Will Book 12/493.

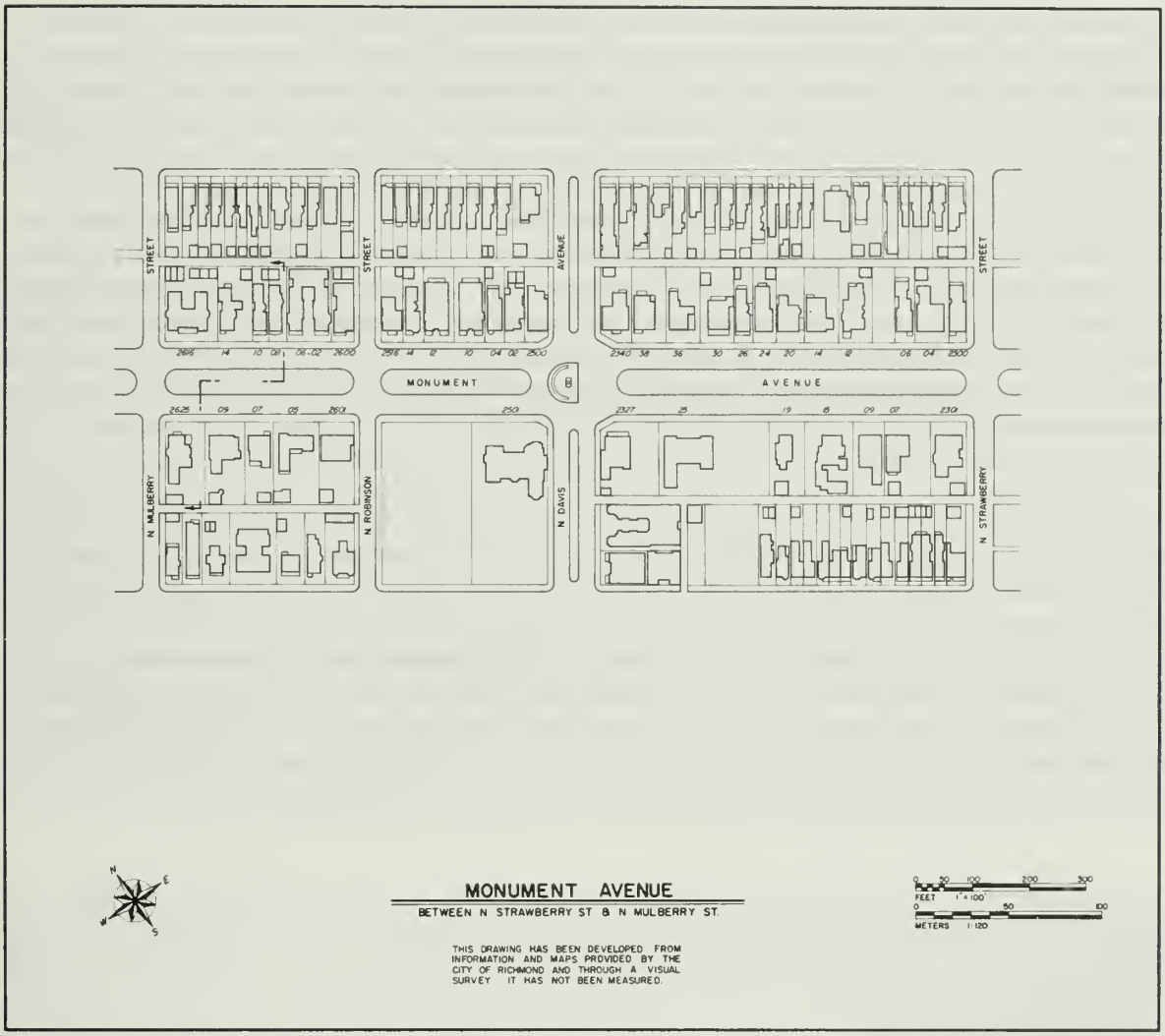

Figure 94 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Strawberry and Mulberry streets (2300, 2500, and 2600 blocks). Spodek, HABS.

According to the 1901 plat by Crawford and Redd, five parties owned land on the 2300 block before it was divided into lots. William H. Palmer, James Caskie, and J. P. Branch owned land on the south side; business partners Allison and Addison, and C. W. Taylor owned land to the north. Branch sold his share of land on this block to the Kingsland Land Corporation in 1912. Kingsland then established deed restrictions resembling those adopted by the Allen heirs. Covenants specified there would be a 20' setback from the street, a 5' minimum side yard, and only one dwelling per lot "in keeping with the houses now on Monument Avenue, in this vicinity, to wit not less than $6,000." One other restriction was the prohibition of black ownership.

Construction on the block spanned a sixteen-year period: the first building was erected in 1909 and the last house in 1925. In 1910 four families built homes on the north side of the street and in 1915 three more households were established. More than half the block was developed by 1915, as only six houses were built from 1916 to 1925.

With the work of at least ten architectural firms and an assortment of architectural styles represented, this block demonstrates the eclectic character of the first two decades of the twentieth century on Monument Avenue. Like other areas of the avenue, this block has several houses of the Colonial Revival style. The repetition of the style serves as a unifying element on the north side of the street, where it is represented in nine out of twelve instances. Red-brick fronts, slate-covered roofs, keystones over the windows, and wooden porches and balustrades characterize these freestanding two-and-a-half-story houses. The houses at **Nos. 2300** and **2326 Monument Ave.** are both three bays wide with side-hall entrances and side-gable roofs. In this form, but slightly more elaborate, is the house at **No. 2306**, which has a side-hall entrance heavily embellished with a portico, triple windows in the other bay, and a slate-covered hipped roof with three hip-roofed dormers in front. The house was designed by Albert F. Huntt and built in 1913. Charles K. Bryant designed the two-bay wide house at **No. 2330**, built in 1912-13; a one-story porch with a modillioned and denticulated cornice, repeated at the cornice of the building, ornaments the facade.

Scarborough and Howell designed the Colonial Revival houses at **Nos. 2338** and **2340 Monument Ave.**, built in 1909 for different owners. Although both have one-bay, one-story entrance porticoes, they differ in form. The house at No. 2338 has a gabled pavilion projecting from the hipped roof to emphasize the entrance, whereas the house at No. 2340 has a more staid hipped roof with Palladian dormer. The house at **2336 Monument Ave.** is contemporary with these other examples, but is four bays wide and lacks a porch. In 1926, William L. Bottomley designed a similar house, also four bays wide and without a porch, at **No. 2320** (fig. 63). Its modest appearance is emphasized by the slate-covered hip roof and denticulated cornice. The house at **No. 2314** is the same form, but its green-tile roof adds an eclectic flair.

Figure 95 North side of the 2300 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2340 is on left, No. 2338 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

William L. Bottomley also designed two Colonial Revival-style houses on the south side of this block. Built in 1916-17, **2309 Monument Ave.** is four bays wide with the entrance in the end bay. French doors at the first level and the mansard roof are eccentric departures for Bottomley's usual staid conservatism. In 1925, the house at **No. 2301** was built. Here, a Corinthian-columned portico, topped with pineapples, adorns the central entrance.

The only house on the avenue with a two-story portico is strategically located facing the Davis monument at **2327 Monument Ave.** The commanding two-story portico consists of four fluted columns, a classical entablature and a modillioned pediment ornamented with garlands draped from a shield in the center of the tympanum. A central entrance with sidelights and fanlight is formally balanced by a pair of shuttered windows on either side. Near the stone likeness of Jefferson Davis in the intersection, this columned house recollects Southern plantation homes of a bygone era. Built for Lewis H. Blair in 1913, six years after the Davis monument was unveiled, this house was designed by architect Walter D. Blair (whose relationship to the owner has not been established). Lewis Blair lived here only three years until his death in 1916, although members of the Blair family continued to reside at the house for several years. Blair heirs sold the property in 1947.

Other houses on the south side of the block have a Mediterranean flavor, accented by tile roofs. Architect Duncan Lee designed the houses at Nos. 2307 and 2325. The overhanging low-pitched hipped roofs with bracket supports, coupled with appropriate building materials of pinkish-beige stucco, green ceramic tile and louvered shutters, give an Italian look to the house at **No. 2325**. A three-story central block with subordinate attic is widened by two-story pavilions at either side. Strong bilateral symmetry is enhanced by a central entrance with heavy door

Figure 96 South side of the 2300 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2327 is on the right, No. 2325 next to it, No. 2319 in the distance. Boucher, HABS.

Figure 97 North side of the 2300 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2312 is on right, No. 2314 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

decoration. A broken pediment is filled with a coat of arms that depicts an armor-clad forearm clenching a dagger above a shield. The building permit dated 1914 reflects an estimated construction cost of $45,000. Jaquelin P. Taylor, president of his tobacco-related business, J. P. Taylor Company and chairman of the board for Planters National Bank, resided on Cary Street Road before moving to Monument Avenue. He purchased land for the site of his new house in three transactions. Katherine Wall Taylor, widow of Jaquelin, left the house to her son when she died in 1965, and his widow resides there now, making it one of the few residences on Monument Avenue to have direct and continuous association with an original owner.

The Duncan Lee-designed house at **No. 2307** is smaller than the Taylor house. Although similar in form, it is reduced to a three-bay facade since it lacks the two side wings seen at No. 2325. This richly textured brick and limestone house with ceramic tile roof incorporates classically inspired features at the windows and central entrance. The 1915 building permit indicates $19,500 was the estimated cost of construction. Dr. H. Stuart MacLean purchased a 50' x 130' lot in 1915 from N. L. Massey and his wife, Jennie. MacLean, a physician and surgeon at Grace Hospital, lived there three years, only to return to his former home at 1030 W. Franklin. In May 1919, the MacLeans sold the house to Alice Burwell Reed, wife of William T. Reed, the president of a tobacco manufacturing business, Larns and Brothers Co.

William L. Bottomley designed the Mediterranean Revival house at **2315 Monument Ave.**, built in 1922 at an estimated cost of $50,000. The stucco-covered dwelling has a cast-iron balcony

and hipped, tile-clad roof. Stucco also covers **2319 Monument Ave.**, a small two-story house with a chimney adorning the front gable. The entrance is in the side of this tile-ornamented cottage.

These red-brick, Colonial Revival-inspired houses are punctuated by an eclectic mix of other styles, all compatible in scale and materials. Built in 1924, the house at **2304 Monument** has a five-bay front facade and a slate-covered hip roof, but its limestone ashlar cladding gives it a Renaissance Revival appearance (figs. 58, 59). Architects Baskervill and Lambert designed the reinforced-concrete house at an estimated cost of $77,000 for Dr. Stuart McGuire and his wife. Dr. McGuire was president of St. Luke's Hospital and the Medical College of Virginia. Like the residence at No. 2601, the facade of his house was modeled after Mompesson House at Salisbury, England. There is no evidence that McGuire requested the Baskervill firm to design a house after Mompesson, and it is peculiar that Robert Gamble Cabell III would engage architect Bottomley to design a similar residence one block down the street the very same year. When Baskervill asked McGuire what type of new house he wanted, the doctor replied, "I never consider what kind of operation my patients would like; build me a house." And so McGuire, who was in his mid-50s, entrusted his architect to prescribe an appropriate design for him and his wife.[17] The estimated cost of construction was an exorbitant $77,000, ranking it the second-most expensive house erected on Monument Avenue, after the Branch house.

The house at **2324 Monument Ave.**, also clad with limestone, is a plainer version of the three-bay front, side-hall-plan town houses found on elsewhere on the avenue. Architect Marcellus Wright designed the house, which was built in 1913-14; fifteen years later it was altered according to designs by Baskervill and Lambert.

Also on the north side, **No. 2312** introduces an architectural style not previously represented elsewhere along Monument Avenue. This elaborate Tudor house with stepped parapet gable, ribbed and vaulted porch, and pointed-arch entrance, looks more institutional than residential. It was designed by Carneal and Johnston and built in 1915. Its presence on other blocks of Monument Avenue would make it seem even more displaced, but the scale of other nearby houses and gardens allows it to contribute to the grand character of the 2300 block.

2500 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN DAVIS AVENUE AND ROBINSON STREET[18]

The block west of the Jefferson Davis Monument, Davis Avenue to Robinson Street, is a shorter block than most of those on Monument Avenue, having approximately half the width of

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[17]Interview with Benjamin Warthen, third owner of the McGuire house (2304 Monument Ave.), August 16, 1991.

[18]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 3494, 3756 (2504 Monument); 5078 (2510-2512 Monument); 2035 (2516 Monument). Deed Books: **2501 Monument:** 176C/337, 198B/347, Will Book 28/153, 530D/377, 560D/377, 568A/54, 576D/48, 583B/429, 590B/689, 597A/94, 790/1356,1420, 804/780; **2500 Monument:** 211C/465, Will Book 2/448, 434C/413, 436B/29, Will Book 95/105, 664A/270,267, 13/690; **2504 Monument:** Will Book 2/448, 223A/58, 254B/37, Will Book 27/348, Will Book 41/476, Will Book 77/347, 612D/196; **2512 Monument:** Will Book 2/448, 162B/80; 197A/388,389, Henrico Co. Deed Book 100/285, Henrico Co. Deed Book 99/295, Henrico Co. Deed Book 96/57, 222A/224; 237A/56, 237C/57,56, 437D/372, 589B/177, 703/1650; **2516 Monument:** 207B/420,421, Will Book 71/472, 598A/267, 629C/221, 647D/590, 686D/777, 68/1890, 68/1893, 112/312, 166/130, 182/794. Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976), opposite 173. William B. O'Neal, "The Multiple Life of Space," Arts In Virginia 5 (Spring 1965): 2-11.

Figure 98 John Russell Pope's Branch House and the majestic Davis Monument. Boucher, HABS.

an average block. This tract is also unusual because although there are seven structures on the north side, there is just one building on the entire south side of the street. This block developed a bit more slowly than others to the east. The first house on the block was built in 1908 and, with the exception of the vacant southwestern lot, the area was gradually filled in by 1924. All the buildings were designed as residences, either single-family dwellings or apartments.

The impressive Branch House at **2501 Monument Ave.** dominates the block and seems as monumental as nearby Jefferson Davis himself. John Kerr Branch selected the south side of the 2500 block for his residence, believing that Monument Avenue would terminate at Davis Avenue where the commemorative statue to Jefferson Davis was erected in 1907. Even the figure of the Confederate president was positioned with its back to westward development and the monument is further enclosed by a colonnade that forms a semicircle at the rear of the memorial. Branch probably thought this terminus on the avenue would ensure a desirable setting for the type of house he wanted to build.[19] Branch occupied only the eastern half of the south side of the 2500 block, presumably reserving the western half for his sister, although she never built on it.

The house, completed in 1919, was originally built as a residence for the John Kerr Branch family, but its 28,000 square feet are at present the offices of the Virginia Agency of

[19]Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, National Register Nomination: Branch House (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1983).

Northwest Mutual Life Insurance Company. The scale of the Tudor Revival mass suggests the owner's wealth and status, not unlike an English manor house. In addition to its function as a third and winter residence for the Branch family, the house was designed to provide a suitable setting for entertaining guests, showcasing Branch's extensive art collection, and accommodating a large staff of servants.

John Russell Pope, a nationally prominent architect, designed the building whose estimated cost of construction was $160,000. The house is U-shaped in plan, with a parapeted, slate-clad gable roof. Castellated bays, two and three stories high, add a picturesque, asymmetrical effect. Decorative elements such as elaborate limestone window and door surrounds, bas-relief decoration, chimney pots, patterned brickwork, and leaded glass demonstrate Pope's attraction to detail. Surrounding the grounds is a solid wall of brick, only periodically interrupted by gates composed of sections of brick wall, mountd on wheels. The fence fulfills a vital role since it anchors the oversized house to its limited suburban landscape and communicates a sense of personal, powerful and private ownership that a pastoral setting might otherwise evoke.

John P. Branch sold the site of this house, the southern side of the 2500 block, to his son John Kerr Branch for $1 and "fatherly affection" in 1903. Beulah Gould Branch inherited the property from her husband, John Kerr, in 1928. Upon her death, the house went to their daughter, Zayde Branch Rennolds, in 1947. Rennolds sold the property to the United Way of Greater Richmond, over a six-year period, a portion at a time. The first parcel (consisting of 15 percent of the property) was sold in 1954 and the last 19 percent of the property was sold as the sixth parcel in 1959. The present owners, Robert and Janice W. Pogue, bought the house from the United Way in the early 1980s and established a deed of easement with the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission to protect the site.

The seven houses on the north side of the 2500 block are modest in comparison to the Branch House, but maintain continuity with other blocks along the avenue. The Colonial Revival image associated with Monument Avenue houses is repeated on this block at Nos. 2500 and 2516. These brick, two-and-a-half-story houses with classical front porches demonstrate the early developmental years of this block. These were the first built here, spanning 1908-1911, and were situated at both ends of the block. The bilaterally symmetrical house at **No. 2500** has a projecting center block portion flanked by wider bays. Bold, double columns at the front of the porch and vertical window mullins are combined with wide limestone lintels, a fat entablature, and broad dormer window to give the house a geometric quality. Designed by Albert Huntt, the residence was built in 1908.

The Colonial Revival house at the opposite end of the block, **No. 2516** was designed by D. Wiley Anderson and built in 1911. The outspoken porch emphasizes the entrance of the house by creating a deep, almost cavern-like sheltered area directly in front of the door. A narrow pediment above the door peeks behind a wider pediment supported by fat columns. The original owner was attorney Hill Montague, who purchased his lot on Monument Avenue in 1910 from executors for S. S. Cottrell. Montague lived at 1650 W. Grace before he moved to Monument. His son, Hill Montague, Jr., inherited the property in 1948 and owned the house until 1960.

The house at **No. 2504** presents a fresh combination of design features and materials. The hipped, nearly pyramidal roof with a hip-roofed dormer on each side crowns a three-bay facade with asymmetrical entrance. Roman brick of buff hue, limestone decoration surrounding French

doors and windows at the upper story, and a terrace with wrought-iron balustrade give this home a sense of formality and elegance. Designed by Asbury and Whitehurst for banker William C. Camp, this house was built in 1914 at an estimated cost of $12,000. Camp purchased his 34' x 130' lot from William Fletcher Richardson in 1913 when he lived at 2500 Grove Ave. He resided at this address for six years until he moved to 106 N. Mulberry in 1919 and sold his property to lumberman R. E. Richardson and wife, Julia, for $30,000. Descendants of the Richardsons still retain title to the property today.

There are two multi-family residences on this block, **Nos. 2510** and **2512**. Although latecomers, these twin apartments were not the last buildings constructed on this block. Built in 1916-17, the verticality of these three-story apartment buildings is emphasized by columned two-story porches that are duplicated at each apartment. Because there is strong vertical emphasis, these apartments interfere with the rhythm established by shorter, two-and-a-half-story neighbors. Nonetheless, their classical appearance is composed of familiar design elements seen on earlier houses of Monument, but at a new giant scale. This apartment form of three bays with central entrance flanked by porches is a regular building type of Richmond's Fan District. Variations of the plan occur on later blocks of this district (see the 2900 and 3600 blocks of Monument, for example) and on side streets off the avenue. These 2500-block apartments designed by Albert F. Huntt have squat hipped roofs, accented cornices, and balustraded porches that culminate with Palladian-inspired windows at the third story. The combined estimated construction cost for both apartments was $70,000.

Figure 99 North side of 2500 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2504 is on right; Nos. 2510 and 2512 are apartment buildings next to it. Boucher, HABS.

Oscar Hooker, vice president of Richmond Distilling Company, had these apartments built. Hooker resided at 605 Grace St. when he acquired the lots for Nos. 2510 and 2512 in February 1916. He applied for a building permit three months later. According to the 1918 city directory, Stratford Court Apartments at No. 2512 was the new residence of six tenants: Thaddeus Bell, an agent with New York Life Insurance Company who formerly resided on Franklin Street; A. T. Lowmaster, a superintendent with Chesapeake & Ohio Railway; and Robert Saul and his relatives. Saul was a manager for Hines, Jones & Cadbury, a plumbing supply company, who moved from 1030 W. Franklin apparently with his three daughters, Dorothy, Gladys, and Josephine. The apartment at No. 2512 remained occupied by the Hooker family until 1958.

The 2500 block also has two eclectic houses. Built in 1910-11, **2514 Monument Ave.** is an odd mix of styles, assembled by architects Carneal and Johnston. The familiar Monument Avenue form of two bays wide, two-and-a-half stories high, is executed in red brick with white keystones and a denticulated cornice. The three-story polygonal bay and tracery-work balustrades lend a Jacobean air, however.

The last house constructed on the block is in a vaguely Spanish Colonial style at **No. 2502**. Built in 1924 to designs by Otis K. Asbury, it suggests a change in taste from colonial-inspired designs to an updated European-eclectic architecture. Its style could be a response to the stately villa-like residences built one block up the street eight years earlier, but is probably part of a wider trend followed by fellow homeowners on the 3100 and 3200 blocks of Monument Avenue, as well.

2600 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN ROBINSON AND MULBERRY STREETS[20]

The 2600 block of Monument Avenue, between Robinson Street at the east and Mulberry at the west, is another short block compared to most along Monument Avenue, being just a fraction wider than the block preceding it. The land south of the block was held by John P. Branch until 1912, when he transferred it to his company, the Kingsland Land Corporation, to be subdivided. Individual owners purchased lots with the following covenants: (1) "no part of said land shall be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of during the next twenty-five years to any person who is a negro or of African descent"; (2) "no apartment or flat house may be erected upon said land"; and (3) no more than one dwelling may be built during the next thirty years, with the exception of a stable or "private garage" with living rooms therein. After the thirty-year period, more than one residence could be built, but they were required to meet certain measurement restrictions specified in the deeds. Branch also owned land on the north side of the street, but he

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[20]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 1042 (2610 Monument); 2444 (2614 Monument); 3719, 3769 (2616 Monument); 12410 (2601 Monument); 11329 (2605 Monument); 13802 (2607 Monument); 15391, 16669 (2609 Monument); 3645 (2625 Monument). Deed Books: **2614 Monument:** 195B/426, 207D/291, 212A/26, 212B/83,84, 213B/95, 245D/86, 246A/189, 245D/86, 261B/381, 415B/244, 684D/33, 725/981; **2616 Monument:** 195B/426, 209B/204, 226D/228, 228A/444, 399D/390, 604A/117, 772/1639, 249/1037; **2601 Monument:** 300B/318, 419C/493, Will Book 76/207, 657B/258; **2605 Monument:** 219C/493, 269D/148, 285C/305, 269D/144, 349B/238, 384D/466, 424B/493, 611B/223, 681D/699; **2607 Monument:** 219C/493, 255A/170, 307D/329, 645B/255, 647C/255, 678C/760, 753/719; **2609 Monument:** 219C/493, 265A/69, 241D/499, 255C/12, 265A,69, 241D,499, 319B/150, 531B/324, 543D/178, 686C/51. William B. O'Neal and Christopher Weeks, The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985).

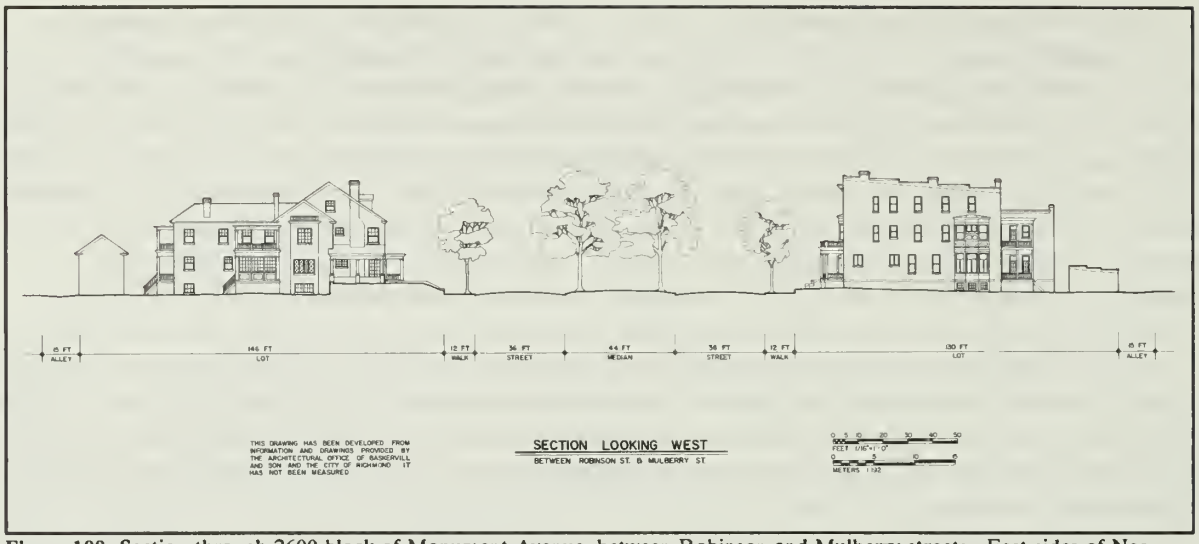

Figure 100 Section through 2600 block of Monument Avenue, between Robinson and Mulberry streets. East sides of Nos. 2625 (left) and 2608 (right). Spodek, HABS.

sold lots earlier, without deed restrictions.

As a result, there is a great contrast between the south side and north side of the street. As in certain other blocks, such as the 2300, lots on the southern side are wider than those on the north side. While the south side has sprawling houses which give it a suburban character, the north side is dotted with narrow town houses and reflects a tighter, more compact environment. Because of the deed restrictions, apartments are situated only on the north side and contribute to the impression of high-density housing. Five residences of similar scale present a more unified streetscape on the south side than the combination of three houses and three apartment buildings of varying size on the north. Most of the residences on the south were built about ten years after those on the north. Buildings were erected on the north side beginning in 1910. Construction activities came to a halt around 1916, until the last building on the north side was completed by 1923. Although there was a lone house on the opposite side in 1916, its neighboring residences were not constructed for another decade or so.

The first houses on the block at Nos. 2610, 2608, and 2614 were built from 1909 to 1913 in the Colonial Revival style. The house at **No. 2610** (1909) looks like a miniaturized variation of the loftier Colonial Revivals, probably due to its false-mansard and tiled roof, which is a major component of the facade. The full three-story Colonial Revival with pronounced entablature at **No. 2608** stylistically links the 2600 block to others on Monument Avenue. Not unlike those at Nos. 1822 and 1826, this house has a tripartite division: there is a columned front porch running the width of the house that gives it a substantial base; a middle section is adorned with a center canted bay and quoins at the ends; and the third story has a wide frieze.

The two-bay-wide Colonial Revival house at **No. 2614** is another design of Albert Huntt. Huntt's flair for giving buildings an unprecedented look is expressed in this heightened two-and-a-half-story town house with shallow hipped roof. An ornamented pediment, outlined by moldings, rests above a columned porch. Limestone window surrounds are exaggerated at the second story, while vertical limestone bands placed above the second-story cornice rise to meet mutules under

the soffit at the roof. A semi-circular oriel with bowed glazing, elliptical fanlight, arched dormer window, and Ionic capitals introduce curved lines to the rather upright building.

This lot changed hands several times before original homeowner J. K. Dunlop, a leaf buyer for the American Tobacco Company Stemmery, acquired it in 1911. Dunlop, who resided at 1717 Park Ave. when he bought the land, changed jobs in 1913 to become a special agent for the Provident Life and Trust Company. The Dunlops sold their home to colleague A. O. Swink, an agent with Atlantic Life Insurance Company, in 1917. The Swink family occupied the home a brief period, since they sold it to James J. Hickey in 1919. Hickey, one of Imperial Tobacco Company's field superintendents, and his wife, Marie, owned the house until 1939.

The remaining lots on the north side occur at the ends of the block at Nos. 2600, 2602-2606, and 2616, which are filled with apartment buildings. There is a nine-year spread between the date of the first apartment, built in 1914, and the last apartment, built in 1923. These three-story, brick buildings with columned porches have few features in common. The apartment building at the northwest corner of Mulberry and Monument (**No. 2616**), Westover, was the first one erected on the block. It is an occasionally repeated apartment plan and occurs down the street at No. 3039 and in other sections of the Fan District. A central block of three bays is flanked by one-bay wide projecting wings at either side. Multiple vertical and horizontal elements such as a two-level porch, tall paired columns, limestone courses, numerous double-hung windows, cornice, and narrow parapet give this building a grid-like appearance. A central entrance separates two double-decked porches that are eventually joined at the second story by a single flat roof.

Figure 101 North side of the 2600 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2600 is on the right. Boucher, HABS.

E. D. Hobbs and his wife, Edna, residents of Norfolk, were the original owners of Westover. Hobbs, who listed himself as architect on the building permit, purchased a lot that was part of a parcel of land previously owned by John P. Branch, and later, James Cannon, Jr. The Hobbses bought the lot from Henry and Jeannie McLean Wood on March 9, 1914, and applied for their building permit at the end of the month. The apartment building took approximately six months to erect if the final inspection date of September 9, 1914, recorded on the building permit reflected a finished or nearly completed job. The 1915 city directory listed three businessmen tenants: Abram L. Jacobs, a clothier at Jacobs & Levy; Leon L. Strause, who was associated with the tobacco business; and William J. Whitehurst, treasurer of Ford, Whitehurst Manufacturing Company, president of Virginia Mechanics Institute, and vice president of Richmond Bank and Trust Company. The Hobbses owned their income-producing property until 1935.

The two-bay-wide apartment building at **No. 2600** with asymmetrical two-story porch and low hipped roof was erected as the second apartment building on this block in 1916. The building at **Nos. 2602-06**, built 1923, is a court apartment with a deep U-plan. Its extended mass is tightly contained in its lot, but the scale of the duplicated facade gives it a slight town house appearance unlike the other, bulkier apartments on the block.

Based on the first house built on the south side of this block at **No. 2625**, it seems these lots were originally intended to be wider than those to the north. Although constructed about the same time as the houses across the street, No. 2625 is a large Colonial Revival-style house with an outstretched side porch that was designed to take advantage of a spacious lot. Built in 1916, it was a harbinger of how real estate on the south side of the block would develop.

Although the two Tudor Revival-style houses were built at Nos. 2605 and 2607 about a year apart, they are quite different in their presentation. The house at **No. 2607**, designed by Otis Asbury for Julia Andrews, a teacher at William Fox School, incorporates a small, steeply pitched gable with half-timbering and a little dormer almost washed away by a sweeping slate roof. Contrasting textures and colors are enhanced by a terraced and manicured lawn to demonstrate that a Cotswold cottage can be appropriately dressed for town life.

The more austere house built the previous year at **No. 2605** was designed by Duncan Lee for Winifred and Jonathan Bryan. This house uses fewer materials than the neighboring Tudor Revival house: half-timbering, limestone door detailing, and wood shutters are absent. Front and side gables are layered with thick slate shingles that diminish in size from the eave to the ridge. The two-and-a-half-story house, faced with brick in an English-bond pattern, has an asymmetrical arched entrance that is recessed into the principal gable front. Minor gables and interesting fenestration highlight this L-shaped house. This house stands apart from other houses on Monument, not so much for its architecture, but for its wall-like brick fence (made even taller by a row of hedges), that segregates it from the street and its neighbors. The impermeable qualities of this barrier prevent the house from interacting with the public sector of the avenue. A driveway allows pedestrians to catch a glimpse of the entry opening, but the front door is not visible. The streetscape of the block is affected by this fence, giving this house a look all its own.

Real estate magnate Jonathan Bryan purchased the 80' x 146' lot on April 8, 1921, for $22,400. The building permit of 1923 indicates the estimated cost of construction was $32,000. The Bryans owned the house until 1927 when it was purchased by Lilla Bryan Pratt, wife of Reverend Frank Pratt, pastor of First Unitarian Church. The Bryans and Pratts occupied the

Figure 102 South side of 2600 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2609 on right, No. 2607 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

house together, according to directories, but by 1933 Winifred Bryan regained ownership of the house. Winifred Bryan owned the house until 1941, when new owners Elizabeth and George Hester bought it. Zayde R. Dotts, the granddaughter of John Kerr and Buelah Branch, and her husband, Walter, purchased the house for their residence in 1962.

The last two houses built on the block are Nos. **2609** and **2601**. Both of them are two-and-a-half-story brick Georgian Revival designs, each having five bays, a central entrance, hipped roofs, and prominent chimneys. Designed by Baskervill and Lambert, the former, built in 1925-26, is more vertical than the latter one, with bays spaced at closer intervals and a pyramidal roof adorned with a golden pineapple finial at the apex.

William L. Bottomley designed the house at No. 2601 for Maude Morgan Cabell, wife of stockbroker Robert Gamble Cabell III (fig. 61). Maude Cabell purchased the 62'-6" x 146' lot in 1921 from the Kingsland Land Corporation for $16,751.25. She began negotiations with Bottomley the following year and received a permit to build her new house on January 26, 1924.

The 62'-wide parcel, wider than most Monument Avenue lots, enabled Bottomley to design an expansive residence at this location. The house occupies all but 5' of its frontage along Monument. It was intentionally designed after Mompesson House, at Salisbury, England, but was constructed of brick in the English bond pattern instead of stone and has two fewer bays. The Cabell house has stone trim, a broken pediment with coat of arms, and a fence with iron grill.

Bottomley's design also features carved-brick lintels at the first story. The Cabells were lifetime residents of their home. Sydney and Frances Lewis, founders of the BEST Company, purchased the house from Cabell heirs in 1969.

2700 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN MULBERRY STREET AND BOULEVARD[21]

The 2700 block of Monument is the last section of the street before Boulevard, the largest street intersecting Monument Avenue. The equestrian statue of Stonewall Jackson stands in the center of this crossing. Designed by Richmond sculptor F. William Sievers, the statue was unveiled in October 1919. Boulevard cuts through Monument at an oblique angle, creating awkwardly shaped corners. On the north side, corner lots are not oriented to the intersection, while on the south side, the corner is simply part of the First Baptist Church grounds.

Originally the last section of the Branch estate, the 2700 block was subject to the Branch building and ownership covenants. The lot sizes between Mulberry and Boulevard on the north side now range in width from 36' to 94'; the south side is devoted entirely to the First Baptist Church. Like many blocks to the east on Monument Avenue, the houses here represent various attitudes toward urban street life, with an emphasis on more suburban examples at the western end. Unlike many blocks, the progression from east to west between Mulberry Street and Boulevard is fairly consistent, and divides nicely into chronological and stylistic sections, moving from 1908 at Mulberry to the late 1920s near Boulevard.

The houses at the eastern end of the block include two large-scale townhouses at Nos. 2702 and 2704, and a lower, wider house on the corner at No. 2700. Unlike most Monument Avenue houses, **No. 2700** takes advantage of its corner lot with an enclosed side porch, a cornice line that wraps around the building, and the front dormer configuration repeated at the sides. Its symmetrical Georgian Revival facade includes two oriels, Palladian windows at the first floor, and three widely spaced dormers on a low hipped roof. Designed by William C. West, the house was built in 1908.

The town houses are both two-and-a-half stories with false mansard roofs, but sit on generous lots. Asbury and Whitehurst's design for **No. 2704** uses familiar Colonial Revival details--including flared limestone jack arches, gabled dormers, and brick quoins--and emphasizes the width of the house with a full three-bay porch with balustrade. Although it has a typical town house roof, No. 2704 looks almost squat next to Nos. 2702 and 2708.

Rabbi Edward Calisch built his first of three homes on Monument Avenue at **No. 2702.** The building permit shows an estimated cost of $13,000 in 1910. Although it has many of the usual Colonial Revival details, it breaks out of the town house mold with a tile roof, pressed-

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[21] Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 696 (2700 Monument); 1428 (2702 Monument); 2388 (2704 Monument); 3252 (2708 Monument); 3607 (2710 Monument); 4553 (2712 Monument); 18768 (2714 Monument); 14556 (2716 Monument). Deed books: **2702 Monument**: 243/712, 187/333, 60/1368, 713/1557, 693C/362, 605B/92, 557A/108, 434A/537, 224C/112, 199C/150, 176C/337; **1708 Monument**: 787/511, 690/754, 675D/131, 525A/127, 446C/268, 277A/227, 250A/311, 214A/463, 176C/337; **2715 Monument**: 246C/478, 264A/437. "The Memorial Windows of the First Baptist Church." Brochure, 1949.

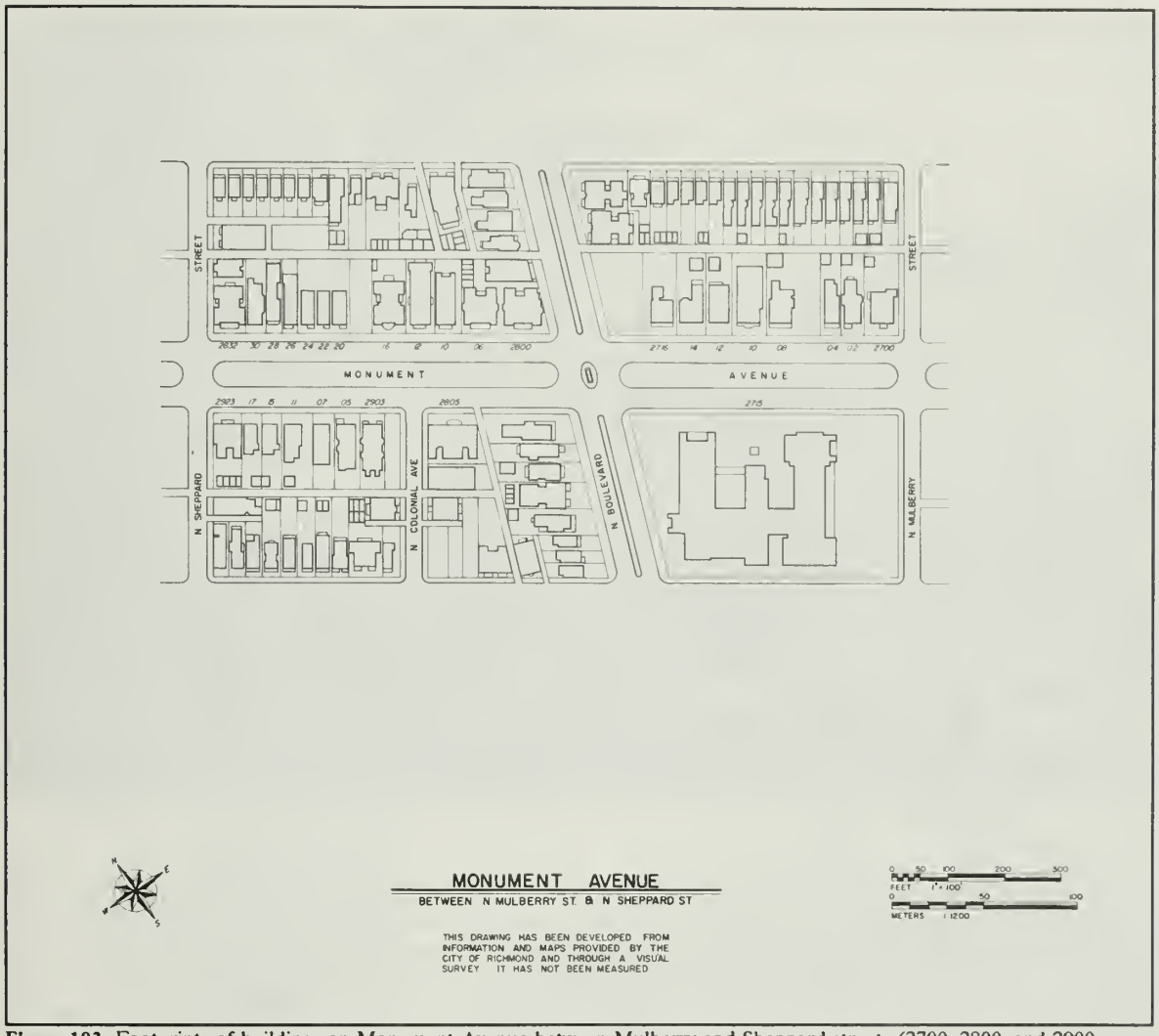
STREET
MONUMENT
AVENUE
N. SHEPPARD
N. COLONIAL AVE
N. BOULEVARD
N. MULBERRY
MONUMENT AVENUE
BETWEEN N MULBERRY ST. & N SHEPPARD ST
THIS DRAWING HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FROM INFORMATION AND MAPS PROVIDED BY THE CITY OF RICHMOND AND THROUGH A VISUAL SURVEY IT HAS NOT BEEN MEASURED
FEET
METERS

Figure 103 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Mulberry and Sheppard streets (2700, 2800, and 2900 blocks). Spodek, HABS.

metal crenellated oriel, and a large Flemish gable with stone coping that makes the house look even taller than it is. Calisch moved up Monument from 406 Lombardy, on Stuart Circle, and stayed only a short time. In 1913 he sold the property to William P. Wood, a seed dealer. Calisch moved first to West Grace Street, then in 1915 to 1643 Monument. The Wood family owned No. 2702 until 1961.

Separated by a side yard from the first three houses on the block are two D. Wiley Anderson-designed houses, a nearly matching pair at **Nos. 2708** and **2710.** On a grander scale than No. 2230, these use the same green tile and elaborate dormers for a Queen Anne-style effect at the roof. Both feature buff textured bricks, stone balustraded full-width porches with tile roofs, and limestone window detailing. Each house is 40' wide, and No. 2708 has an additional 50' side lot, which helps it read as a particularly long house and adds to the suburban quality of the block. Liquor dealer Arthur L. Straus bought a parcel of land from John P. Branch in 1912, agreeing to build not more than two houses, at least as expensive as the adjoining property to the

Figure 104 North side of the 2700 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2710 is on left, No. 2708 next to it. Boucher, HABS.

east (No. 2704). In 1914, Straus hired architect Anderson and contractor R. W. Eubank to build No. 2708, at an estimated cost of $30,000. Straus occupied the house until 1918, selling to Walter H. Miles, the president of W. H. Miles Shoe Company. The company's two vice presidents also lived on Monument Avenue, at Nos. 2911 and 2912. Miles lived at No. 2708 until his death; his heirs sold the house to Angus O. Swink, president of a life insurance company. Angus' widow Frances Swink sold the house in 1944.

The last three houses on the north side of the block--Nos. 2712, 2714 and 2716--read stylistically as a group, although their building dates range from 1917 to 1929. All have slate-covered roofs, three dormers, and spare Colonial Revival detailing. The cornice lines match on Nos. 2712 and 2714, while No. 2716 is slightly lower. Designed by William L. Bottomley and built last, **No. 2714** is the largest of the three, with four bays, brick quoins, and an arched doorway (fig. 62). Architect Duncan Lee designed a house for J. J. Ballou, Jr., at **No. 2712** in 1915-16, using three bays and large dormers for a boxy effect. Sitting on the northeast corner of Monument and Boulevard is **No. 2716**, designed by architect M. E. Wright and built in 1925. There is a one-story porch across the four-bay facade.

On the south side of Monument, at **No. 2715**, the First Baptist Church spreads across the block in a series of Classical Revival buildings. The main sanctuary is the most westerly building. Like its predecessor, the First Baptist Church at 302 N. 11th St., designed by Thomas U. Walter in 1841, the Monument Avenue church has a Doric portico *in antis* and triglyphs in the frieze. A

breezeway with Ionic columns connects the sanctuary to the Sunday School building and with another, larger addition on the east, the complex forms the plan of an E.

The trustees of the church--Samuel P. Waddill, A. W. Patterson, Thomas C. Williams, Jr., Richard Gwathmey, Robert L. Powers, Lewis C. Bosher, and James L. Shepherd--acquired the land in 1920 in two parcels, from Lizzie E. Boyd and the Kingsland Land Corporation. Apparently, the Kingsland parcel originally belonged to Whitmell S. Forbes, whose mansion stood just west of Roseneath and who was also a church trustee. According to a church pamphlet, Forbes gave the land in memory of his mother, Jane Christian Boyd.[22] A temporary chapel was built on the grounds and used from 1920-28; ground was broken for the current building in 1927. The Sunday school and sanctuary were enlarged in 1941; the Monument Avenue facade was moved 30' toward the street. Later additions include the east wing and gymnasium, built after World War II. Considering the long construction timespan, the complex is remarkably consistent in style and materials.

Figure 105 First Baptist Church on the south side of the 2700 block of Monument Avenue. Boucher, HABS.

[22]Program for Sunday, December 19, 1928, First Baptist Church.

2800 AND 2900 BLOCKS OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN BOULEVARD AND SHEPPARD STREET[23]

Derived from the Sheppard estate, the first block west of Boulevard gives a different impression of Monument Avenue than those blocks to the east. Boulevard is a dividing line for Monument, not just because it is a major intersecting street that slices through the avenue at an oblique angle, but also because its streetscape presents a different image than the eastern Monument that was developed earlier. The block between Boulevard and Sheppard especially marks this new order of Monument Avenue. Although the residential use of the block is in keeping with others along the avenue, 85 percent of all the buildings are apartments. The apartment complexes dominate their lots, leaving little front yard and even less side yard to beautify. As on all of Monument Avenue, the tree-lined median strip provides a grassy retreat to residents of this high-density neighborhood.

On the south side of the block, Colonial Street runs northward, dead-ending at Monument, separating the southern side of the block into two uneven parcels. The eastern parcel has lots oriented toward Boulevard with an alley at the rear, and only one lot faces north on Monument. The western parcel is the 2900 block. On the north side, with one exception, the block is a continuous strip of three-story apartments. Lots on both sides of the street are about the same size, although there are more buildings on the north side. The western edge of this block terminates in a different manner than it began--at right angles.

According to the Crawford and Redd Plat of 1901, the land was platted as an extension of Franklin Street. On the south side of the street there were eleven lots just west of Deep Run Street (now Colonial), and two on its east side, for a total of thirteen lots. There were thirteen connected lots on the north side. Lots directly west of Boulevard on the north side of the street were originally platted to face east onto Boulevard and had a north-south alley at the rear, but were later developed as lots fronting Monument with one alley running parallel to the avenue.

The north and south sides of the 2800 block developed at about the same pace. Buildings were constructed here beginning in 1916; eight were erected by 1920, with both sides of the block equally represented. A rush of construction activity took place here in the mid-1920s, especially at the northwest corner where seven buildings were erected between 1926 and 1928, signaling the development of the block, but not its maturity. The lot at No. 2907 was empty until 1960.

Although there are many apartment types represented, the ever-present column is a prominent design element. Some of the designs are doubled and tripled, such as the pair at Nos. 2810 and 2812, and the trio at Nos. 2820, 2822, and 2824. The Greenwood Apartments at No.

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[23]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 6151, 6219 (2810 Monument); 12730 (2816 Monument); 13117 (2824 Monument); 5457 (2826 Monument); 17656 (2830 Monument); 14021 (2832 Monument); 6926, 7050 (2805 Monument); 8109, 8107 (2915-17 Monument); 9062 (2923 Monument). Deed Books: **2810 Monument:** Henrico Co. Deed Book 176B/95, 215C/117, 230B/159, 237B/235, 193D/213, 219A/396, 227A/109, 247B/243, 260D/297, 433D/487, 638A/647, 643D/246, 686C/556, 638A/650, 699B/738, 722/431, 807/958; **2824 Monument:** Henrico Co. Deed Book 176B/26,95; 218D/281, 275A/67, 313C/194, 321D/370,367, 369C/173, 396A/104, 437D/321, 563C/284, 562B/183, 574D/253, 697C/462, 719/849, 722/1544, 710/1773, 755/1494, 817/493; **2828 Monument:** 200B/305; 218C/388; **2830 Monument:** Henrico Co. Deed Book 194B/29, 261C/488, 322C/207, 517C/22, 518D/543, 641A/677, 198/1250; **2805 Monument:** 205C/60, 199B/468, 217D/410, 249B/65, 408A/338, Will Books 19/492 and 113/108; 590A/425, 770/840,842, 805/1491.

Figure 106 North side of the 2800 block of Monument Avenue. Left to right: Nos. 2816, 2812, and 2810. Boucher, HABS.

2810 and the Seminole Apartments at **No. 2812** have a central bay and entry flanked by two three-story porches. A wide overhanging hipped roof links the triple-deck porches at the roofline and shelters the entrance bay. The distinct porches with short box columns and square balustrades along with triangular knee braces at the eaves give a Craftsman-like spirit to these apartments not previously seen on Monument Avenue. They were built in 1918-19 by builders Davis Brothers, which acquired this parcel with 100' frontage on Monument for $19,000 and built these two apartment buildings at an estimated cost of $50,000. In 1920, they sold an "apartment house containing six units" to Greenwood Apartment Corporation at an undisclosed amount. The apartments must have filled an immediate housing need since all the units were leased the first year following construction. The city directory listed six male tenants in 1919: two salesmen, an investor, a hatter, an attorney, and one without a given occupation.

The Davis Brothers also designed and built the apartments at **Nos. 2820**, **2822**, and **2824.** These Mediterranean-style apartments have two-part compositions: one bay is punctuated by windows with pent roofs and balconies, while the companion bay projects to form a sheltered, arcaded porch of three stories. Ceramic tile covering low-pitched hipped roofs and stucco exteriors complement the architectural style of these apartments, which were built between 1924 and 1926. The Davis Brothers acquired the site for these apartments in 1921, purchasing a 90' x 130' parcel from Adelaide W. Guigon and her husband. Davis Brothers applied for a building permit on May 9, 1924, to build three flats at an estimated cost of $60,000, or $20,000 each. The apartment buildings were designed as a complex of three units each with a "private court in common" at the rear that was bordered by ten garage units. Construction completed, the Davis

Brothers sold the apartments to Harry and Clara Wallerstein on August 4, 1925. The Wallersteins owned the property for five years. Their first leases at No. 2824 were to Margaret Wilson, widow of R. B. Wilson; Thomas M. Anderson, Jr., a travel supervisor for the Export Leaf Tobacco Company; and Gaston M. Jacobs, a clothing salesman at Jacobs and Levy. Monument Avenue was a familiar and evidently desirable neighborhood to all these tenants. Wilson formerly resided at 2512 Monument, Anderson had lived at 2606 Monument, and Jacobs' business colleagues, Raphael Levy and Abram L. Jacobs, both had houses on Monument Avenue.

Of the seven other apartments on the north side of the street, six incorporate porches with columns and balustrades. All have Colonial Revival characteristics, but apartments at **Nos. 2826** and **2828** are smaller buildings than those at Nos. 2800, 2806, 2816, and 2832. The narrow lots at Nos. 2826 and 2828 force these three-story apartments to take a rectangular form with narrow front, giving them a town house-like appearance. No. 2826 is a 25'-5" wide building on a 28'-wide lot. The 1919 permit lists the architect as Sitterding-Carneal-Davis, but the owner and builder was Robert D. Powell. Apartments at **Nos. 2800, 2806**, and **2816** share the same delineation of a wide central block flanked by pavilions. The Monument, at No. 2800, and the Jackson, No. 2806, are similar to the apartment at 2616 Monument Ave., previously described. Those at Nos. 2800 and 2806 were built less than two years apart, the Monument finished first, in 1917. W. E. Purcell, Jr., owned, designed and built the Cheston apartment building at No. 2816 for $60,000 in 1924-25. Like the others at the east end of the block, it is quite wide: 57' on a 60'-wide lot. Pyramidal roofs crown the pavilions, which are connected by an elliptical porch with two-story columns and filleted cornice. A similar design is found up the street at No. 3012. The apartment building at **No. 2832**, the Montclair, is similar to these apartments in form, but does not have projecting side wings. It was built about 1924, again by Purcell, but for a different owner.

Figure 107 South side of the 2800 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2805, the Anne-Frances, is in the foreground. Boucher, HABS.

Another variation of a three-story apartment building with a curved porch and two-story columns is across the street at **No. 2805 Monument**. The Anne-Frances, built 1919-20, is one of the most palatial structures on the avenue. It is isolated on a trapezoidal lot at the southeast corner of Monument and Colonial that is 80' in front and 100' at the rear. This nine-bay-wide apartment building of buff-colored brick has a rusticated ground floor with arcaded entry and arched windows. The base swells outward at the three centralized bays to support a two-story elliptical portico formed by paired columns and single columns, all with Corinthian capitals, and a wide frieze at the cornice.

The Anne-Frances was designed by Max Ruehrmund for owner Columbus K. Lassiter and named after Lassiter's wife. Lassister, who purchased the site in 1918 for $13,000, lived at 3016 Monument and later 2910. At his death his children inherited the property and retained ownership until 1958, when they sold it to Eleanor White Gee. The apartments were converted into condominiums in the early 1980s. Early tenants of this apartment building were business leaders. Some were even principal partners of firms, like Grover C. Dula, president of Westmoreland Candy Company, and president and general manager of Dula Motor Corporation; and Pannill Rucker, owner of Rucker Tobacco Company. Angus O. Swink, manager of the Virginia and D.C. Atlantic Life Insurance Company, resided at 2614 Monument Ave. before moving to the Anne-Frances, and Lottie Cannon moved here from her home at 2340 Monument.

There are other apartments on the south side of the block, but none so majestic as the Anne-Frances. Galt Apartments (now Bernie Apartments) at **No. 2903** was built about 1917 and features two-level giant-columned porches on either side of a central entrance. The Southampton Apartment building, **No. 2923**, was constructed in 1922 and has a center two-story porch with third-floor terrace flanked by pavilions. M. E. Wright was the architect.

Unusual apartment buildings are those at Nos. 2905 and 2830, which disguise themselves as houses rather than proclaim their identity as multi-family spaces. Builders of **No. 2905**, who must have expected this block to develop like other residential blocks east of Boulevard, responded by building an inconspicuous town house-type apartment building that would harmonize with single-family dwellings on the horizon. Built in 1916, this was the first building on the block, so no residential pattern had been established. More difficult to explain is the two-story residence at **No. 2830** built in 1927. It is dwarfed by tall neighbors on either side and is the only two-story building on the north side of the block. This undersized Colonial Revival apartment building of three bays with a side hall features a pediment supported by fluted pilasters and a fanlight at the door. Brickwork of English bond, slate shingles on the side-gable roof, and jack arches above windows combine with the scale of this building to give it a domestic character like no other apartments on this block. A fence of brick piers and iron grills borders the front yard of this residence, designed by Duncan Lee for Rosa B. Hexter. Hexter, a buyer for Miller & Rhoads department store, lived next door at 2828 Monument Ave. in the Rosemary Apartments. She owned the two-unit apartment at No. 2830 until her death in 1936. Her executors awarded it to the Miller & Rhoads Employment Association as her will directed, although that association sold the property in 1949.

The site was included in a parcel known as Monument Avenue Park and subdivided into fifty-one lots that were granted by a widower, M. M. Blacker, to Greater Richmond Realty Company in 1912, and later obtained by Advance Realty Corportion in 1920. Greater Richmond Realty established numerous covenants on the land before Hexter purchased it in 1925. The

Figure 108 South side of the 2900 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2907 is in the center, No. 2905 to the right of it. Boucher, HABS.

restrictions included that: (1) persons of African descent were prohibited from occupying, leasing, or purchasing the property; (2) no liquor could be sold on the land for twenty-one years; (3) building orientation had to conform to the layout and scheme of Monument Avenue Park lots as established on plats; (4) the land could not be used in ways that would "constitute a nuisance or injure the value of neighboring lots"; (5) a 25' setback from the street must be observed, but did not apply to porches or bay windows; (6) houses fronting Monument Avenue had to cost $6,000 or more; (7) houses built on Grace Street had to cost $4,000 or more; and (8) other houses built elsewhere had to cost $3,000 or more.

Hexter's apartment at No. 2830 relates to other small-scale buildings on the block, also in the Colonial Revival vein. The only houses here are on the south side of the street, at **Nos. 2911**, **2915**, and **2917**. All are similar in massing and setting at two-and-a-half stories with dormers and central entrances, and situated at the crest of a berm. The houses at Nos. 2915 and 2917 were built as a pair in 1921, designed by Otis K. Asbury for Edgar Allen, Jr. Both are 27' wide on 35'-wide lots, and 23' high. Despite their similar size and plan (both have central doors and probably identical layouts), they are different styles: No. 2917 is a brick Colonial Revival-style town house, and No. 2915 is a stucco-covered Dutch Colonial style.

The last structure on the block represents a striking contrast to others. Built in 1960, more than half a century after the other buildings, the apartment at **No. 2907** is an example of late first-time building on Monument rather than in-fill construction that replaced existing architecture. Its contemporary cross-gable design of one-and-a-half stories causes it to look out of place amid the older buildings on the block.

2900 AND 3000 BLOCKS OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN SHEPPARD STREET AND BELMONT AVENUE[24]

The block of Monument Avenue between Sheppard and Belmont has lots with odd shapes, atypical orientations, and irregular numbering systems, all reflecting city planners' redesign of land already subdivided. The culmination of the block is the statue to Matthew Fontaine Maury at the intersection of Belmont Avenue. Erected in 1929, it was designed by Richmond sculptor F. William Sievers. Maury's scientific interests are acknowledged by the huge globe supported by allegorical figures; Maury himself sits in an armchair holding a book. Also at this intersection, Franklin Street veers off at an oblique angle, parallel to Park Avenue to the south. Most of the lots on the south side of this block are oriented to West Franklin and Park, putting them at an oblique angle to Monument Avenue. On the north side, the block is further subdivided by Wayne Street, which dead-ends into Monument. Lots east of Wayne on the north side are numbered 2900, while those west and on the south are 3000. The alley east of Wayne Street is 15' wide, expanding to 20' west of Wayne.

Most of the buildings on the 2900 and 3000 blocks were built in the 1920s, but they lack the unity of the adjacent blocks at either end, and include a house from 1912 and two apartment buildings dating from the 1950s. Most of the houses reflect the prevailing Colonial Revival mode, but with wide variations in scale, style, and detailing. The south side, particularly, includes a hodge-podge of building types, including six species of apartments, a duplex, and four single-family residences. Even the consistent setback is broken at the bend of the block, where Nos. 3019 and 3021 turn away from the streetline to conform to their lot shapes.

On the corner of Belmont stands the earliest house on the block at **No. 3039,** a small two-story dwelling similar to Colonial Revival-style town houses farther east, with its false mansard roof, full-width columned porch, and other classical details. The lot for No. 3039 is only 25' wide, one of the smallest on the avenue.

The three other houses on the south side--Nos. 3007, 3015, and 3021--all have the facades of L-shaped cottages (in plan they are rectangular), but range in style from a vernacular look to an eclectic high style typical of the 1920s. Intersecting gables are rare on Monument east of the Boulevard; toward the western end smaller-scale houses adopt cottage roof lines. Originally built as a duplex by 1923, **No. 3021** is one of the least pretentious houses on the avenue, with symmetrical first- and second-floor fenestration, a classical porch across two bays, overhanging eaves, and spare ornamentation throughout. Brackets support a roofed pediment over the door, and limestone keystones and endpieces accent the windows and French doors leading to the terrace and porch deck. Situated right at the turning point of the block, No. 3021 faces Monument at an angle, a position similar to the cottages on the 3100 block. The house was

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[24]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 8080, 8030 (2902 Monument); 2931 (2910 Monument); 12467 (2914 Monument); 14609 (2916 Monument); 10659 (3000 Monument); 13845 (3004 Monument); 13236, 8317 (3006 Monument); 16494 (3012 Monument); 6357, 6323 (3001 Monument); 6836 (3007 Monument); 8132 (3009 Monument); 14227 (3011-13 Monument); 8287 (3015 Monument); 8687 (3021 Monument); 11968 (3029 Monument). Deed Books: **2902 Monument**: 47/864, 759/811, 661C/385, 657C/394, 370B/440, 328D/270, 274A/99, 269A/238, 252B/373, 194B/513, 191A/228, 176B/27; **2910 Monument**: 767/949, 731/992, 586C/422, 560D/172, 448B/352, 308C/110, 231A/370, 225B/69, 211A/80, 194D/449, 193A/449; **3019 Monument**: 717/790, 648B/95, 441C/32, 441A/121, 441A/122, 213A/503, 218A/382, 205D/80, 205C/171, 205D/70, 205D/68, 205B/54, 196A/69, 195D/100.

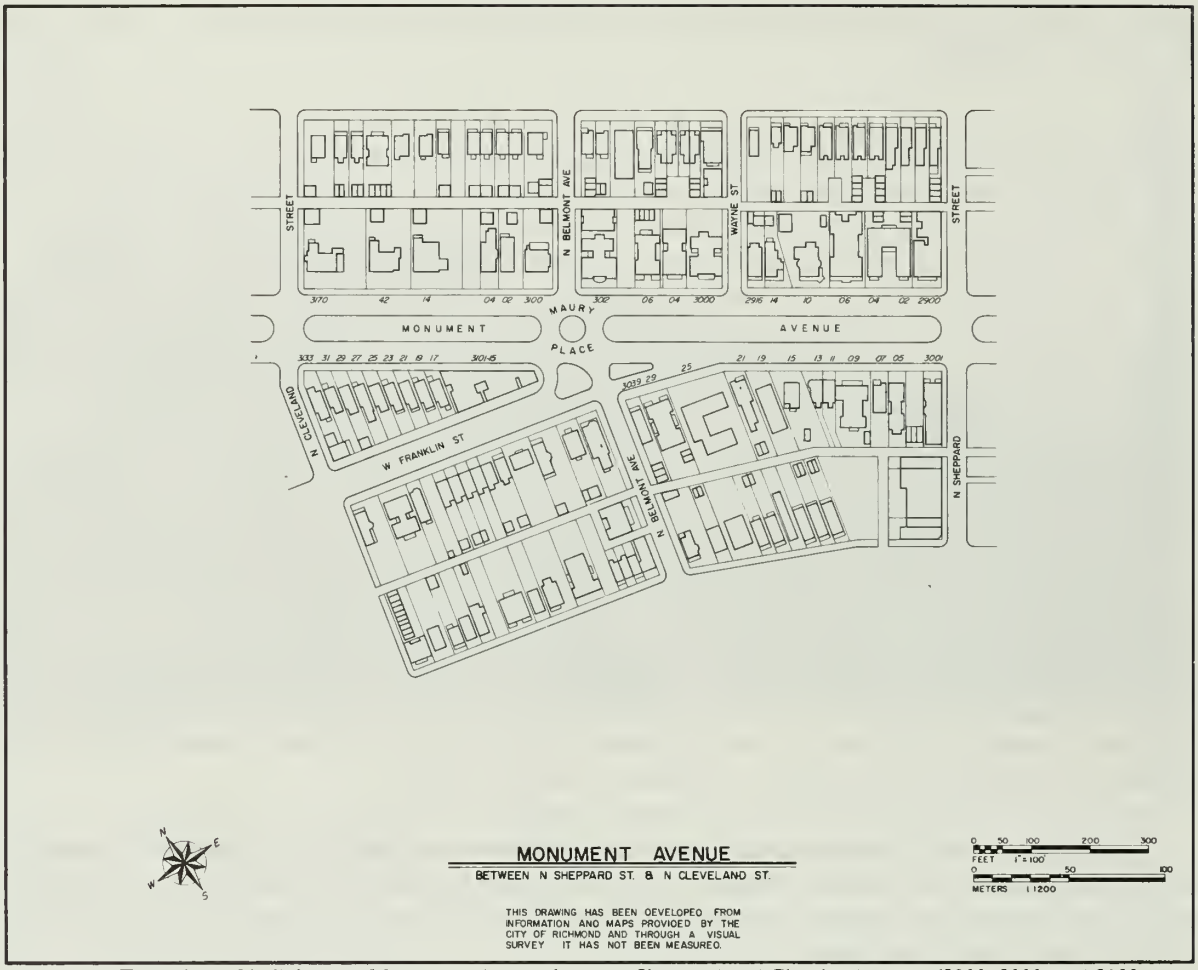
MONUMENT AVENUE
MAURY PLACE
N BELMONT AVE
WAYNE ST
N CLEVELAND
W FRANKLIN ST
N SHEPPARD
MONUMENT AVENUE
BETWEEN N SHEPPARD ST. & N CLEVELAND ST.
THIS DRAWING HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FROM INFORMATION AND MAPS PROVIDED BY THE CITY OF RICHMOND AND THROUGH A VISUAL SURVEY IT HAS NOT BEEN MEASURED.
FEET
METERS

Figure 109 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Sheppard and Cleveland streets (2900, 3000, and 3100 blocks). Spodek, HABS.

designed and built by R. M. Anderson and Company in 1921-22 for H. R. Weisiger.

Built a few months earlier, **No. 3015** received more elaborate treatment, including a triple window with elliptical fanlight, and a half-round columned arch over the door. The cross gable cuts through the cornice, and brick is laid in a Flemish bond with glazed headers. Max Ruehrmund designed this building for Joseph Kass. Although No. 3015 sits on a trapezoidal lot, it faces squarely onto Monument. The other cottage on the block, at **No. 3007,** has a European feel, thanks to a stucco-and-brick gable, segmental arch over the second-story French doors, Tudor-arched attic window, and eyebrow dormer. The Colonial Revival porch looks almost out of place with its paired columns, dentils, and delicate turned balustrade. Architect Ruehrmund designed this fanciful-if-slightly-confused cottage as his own residence.

Next door is an apartment house with a similar stucco facade with brick trim at the edges. Built by 1917, **No. 3005** was originally a three-story apartment house called the Ardelle, designed for three tenants. The building has lost its two-story porch, giving it a slightly barren appearance. A tile roof adds a Mediterranean touch. Separated from No. 3005 by an empty lot is **No. 3001,** the Roseneath, also three stories high with a tile roof. Other Mediterranean elements here

Figure 110 South side of the 3000 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3009 is in center; part of No. 3007 can be seen at left. Boucher, HABS.

include a wide, bracketed overhang at the eaves and a stucco frieze underneath, while the standard Colonial Revival treatment includes symmetrical two-story giant-order porches, a central entry with round-arched pediment over the door, and the suggestion of Palladian windows at the third floor. Although No. 3001 has the standard porch and entry configuration of the larger apartment buildings on the avenue, and was designed to house nine families, its frontage is only 32', close to that of the Ardelle. The tall porch columns, arched central window, and exaggerated brackets all contribute to the vertical effect. E. L. DeLaney was architect and owner of the building, constructed in 1919.

Bigger than both the Ardelle and the Roseneath are two later apartment buildings at **Nos. 3009** (the Halifax) and **3029** (the Frankmont). Both are large-scale Colonial Revival masses similar to those on the earlier blocks. Like No. 3001, No. 3029 has porches on either side of a central entrance, here with an additional porch at the third story. Unlike the usual flat roof, the Frankmont has hipped roofs on the porches, and a false mansard overall. The building was designed and built by Davis Brothers for L. Thornton Davis in 1923-24. The Halifax was originally known as the Majestic, an apt title for a grand five-bay apartment housing eleven tenants in 1922. Almost identical to the apartments at No. 2616, No. 3009 has a balustraded flat roof and a two-story three-bay porch supported by paired giant order columns; here the porch extends through the second floor. Max Ruehrmund was the owner, architect, and builder.

The last residence built in the 1920s is a duplex at **No. 3011-13** unlike any others on Monument. The house is symmetrical, with entrances at the ends marked by segmental pediments. The only line separating the two is a drainpipe running down the middle and a central chimney, but the length of the building, fenestration, and paired dormers clearly indicate separate residences. The lots for No. 3011-13 are the most westerly on the block to show the disruption that West Franklin Street causes: the sharp angle of the lots results in a particularly narrow backyard. The house is built to the edge of its two lots: on the west it abuts No. 3009; on the east it follows the diagonal of the lot line. Charles H. Phillips was the owner and architect.

At Nos. 3019 and 3025 are two 1950s apartment buildings that depart dramatically from the styles and forms established on the rest of the avenue. On a 100'-wide lot, **No. 3025** is a two-story complex with a side-facing U plan; the front entance leads the visitor via an open passageway through the building, into the courtyard. Decorative brick coursing and lack of a visible roof emphasize the horizontality, while the symmetrical facade alludes weakly to a Colonial Revival influence.

The pared-down box at **No. 3019** makes no allusions; its only decorative element is a divided metal stairway with wrought-iron railing leading to French doors on the second floor. The entrances are on the side, one on the left and three on the right. The land for No. 3019 stayed in the same family from 1909 until 1944, when Louis T. and Roslyn M. Simon bought it and built the apartments. In 1909-10, Thomas B. Leonard bought three lots totalling 75' of frontage, conveying them a year later to Thomas W. Leonard. After Thomas W. died, his heirs deeded the land with a 55' frontage to his son Thomas B. Leonard, who sold it to the Simons in 1944.

Before the city condemned property for the extension and widening of Monument in 1907, West Street cut through Franklin following the current line of Belmont on the south side. The 1907 map of the Lee Annex Realty Corporation lots also shows West as a street that dead-ends into Monument on the north side, where Wayne is today. One of the problems created by the intersection of Monument and Franklin was a section with one block on the south side--Sheppard to Belmont (formerly West)--and two on the north--Sheppard to Wayne (formerly West) to Belmont. Until 1925, the numbers on the current 2900 block were in the 3000s, to match with the south side. The 1925 Sanborn maps show both new and old numbering schemes, and label the same street "Wayne" and "West" on different pages.

The only pre-1920 building on the 2900 block is **No. 2910,** an elegantly detailed 1913 Colonial Revival house that stands apart both spatially and stylistically from its later neighbors. Designed by D. Wiley Anderson, it features Queen Anne elements including decorative bargeboards in the two gabled dormers, a geometrical design in the upper sash of all windows, and slender granite columns on brick piers supporting a wraparound porch. Brick quoins and rough granite sills and lintels highlight the smooth texture of the pressed red brick with butter joints. At two-and-a-half stories, with a hipped roof, No. 2910 is lower and longer than the apartments on the east side of the block, and the cornice line and detailing continue around the house, with bays and side porches on both sides. The oddly shaped lot shows vestiges of a Franklin Street orientation; originally a trapezoid, the diagonal west line has been turned to make room for the garage behind No. 2914.

General contractor Samuel G. Meredith bought a lot fronting 105'-3" on Monument in 1911 for $10,000, and built No. 2910 in 1913. Although the building permit specified a six-unit

apartment block, apparently a change was made, because in 1913 Meredith was living in this single-family house. In November 1913, Samuel and his wife, Susie V. Meredith, sold the house to the Realty Insurance Agency, which sold it to C. K. Lassiter in 1915. Lassiter, a mechanical superintendent who previously lived on Grace Street, was vice president of the American Locomotive Company. Lassiter died in 1923, leaving his wife, Annie F. Lassiter, all income from his property (unless she remarried, in which case she would receive only $75 a month), and stipulating that all property except his house be left intact until ten years after his wife died. In 1924, a special commissioner conveyed a triangular portion at the rear of the Lassiter's lot to F. B. Walker, who owned the corner lots west of No. 2910 and apparently wanted enough land to build two garages. In 1945 Lassiter's son, Robert, sold the house to James M. Galloway, who died intestate in 1954. After a legal battle among Galloway's heirs, the property was sold in 1958 to John Paul and Elizabeth A. Jones, who held it until 1977.

At the corner of Monument and Wayne are two similar houses, designed and built by F. B. Walker. In 1924, a building permit was issued for **No. 2914**, and a year later, for **No. 2916**. Both are two stories with Colonial Revival-style cornices, columns, and entries. A light tapestry-brick veneer covers concrete block on No. 2916; No. 2914 is red brick. Each has two dormers on a false mansard roof. The full porches across the fronts and four windows across the second-floor facade make these 28'- and 33'-front houses seem wider than town houses.

Figure 111 North side of the 2900 block of Monument Avenue. No. 2906 is in center; No. 2902-04 is to the right. Boucher, HABS.

Large apartment buildings built in the early 1920s dominate the eastern half of the 2900 block. The first was Sulgrave Manor Apartments at **No. 2902-04,** built in 1921 by the Davis Brothers. Sulgrave Manor is one of the few court apartments on the avenue, with two wings projecting towards the street in a U plan. The three-story hip-roofed building is imposing, but lacks the high-style detail of other Monument Avenue apartments. The porches are three stories, supported by boxed stuccoed columns, with the suggestion of half-timbering in their large gable roofs. Brick pediments and pilasters mark the side entries off the center court.

Meyer and Kittie Greentree owned this lot in April 1921 when they applied for a building permit, but sold the property in May to the Davis Brothers. The permit specified a $90,000 apartment building for twelve families. In August, before the final inspection, the Davis Brothers sold it to the Laburnum Corporation, which dissolved in 1926. In 1930 Joseph Bryan's sons exchanged Sulgrave Manor Apartments for $30,000 and $55,000 worth of lots on Monument Avenue; realtor A. L. Sharp thus acquired the property. Sharp died in 1941, willing the property to his siblings; their heirs sold it in 1969.

Large apartment buildings stand on either side of Sulgrave Manor: the Meredith at **No. 2906** and the Flavius on the corner at **No. 2900.** Both are flat-roofed, three-story Colonial Revival structures built around 1923 for six tenants, but with markedly different scale and massing. The Flavius has the typical three-story porches, here with brick piers, and added wings to make a seven-bay-front building. The Meredith, also seven bays, has a two-story porch running the full

Figure 112 North side of the 3000 block. No. 3000 is on right; No. 3004 is left of it. Boucher, HABS.

width of the building, which creates a longer and less towering facade. Of the three apartments, the Meredith is the most refined, with single-story classical columns, leaded transoms above the first-floor windows, turned balustrades, and a flat parapet above an elaborate cornice.

Between Wayne and Belmont on the north side, four more apartment buildings were constructed in the 1920s, none of them occupied until 1927. All are three stories with monumental porches and Colonial Revival bilateral symmetry common to Monument Avenue apartments. The smallest of the four is at **No. 3006,** designed by Charles H. Phillips to hold six apartments. French doors with transoms and sidelights open onto two-story giant-order porches, while the central entrance is defined by a small entry porch with segmental pediment and an arched window at the third-floor landing.

Two-story central porches with giant-order columns dominate at **Nos. 3000, 3004,** and **3012,** all of which were built to hold twelve apartments. Both Nos. 3000 and 3004 are five bays of buff brick, with the wider lot on No. 3000 allowing for a pavilion effect with the end bays projecting slightly. F. B. Walker designed and built the complex at No. 3000 in 1922-23, while W. E. Purcell, Jr., designed and built the one at No. 3004 in 1924-25. At No. 3012 the elliptical porch is only one-third the width of the nine-bay building, which appears even wider than its 60' lot and is separated from the rest of the block by an empty lot. The 60' x 66' building was designed and built by C. L. Massei in 1926.

After 1929, No. 3004 (originally the Eugenia) was renamed Maury, but this is the only sign that the last statue on Monument Avenue had an impact on its surroundings. There is no play at the corner of Belmont and Monument toward the statue of Matthew Maury; No. 3012 was built before his unveiling in 1929. The city did attempt to recognize the new statue by renaming the western part of the south side of Monument "Maury Place," but the name didn't take.

3100 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN BELMONT AVENUE AND CLEVELAND STREET[25]

In the 1920s, long after the city straightened Monument Avenue and extended it to Roseneath Road, the first houses were built on the 3100 block between Belmont and Cleveland streets. The statue of Matthew Fontaine Maury was unveiled after the blocks were nearly complete, in 1929. The Matthew Fontaine Maury Association, backed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, laid the cornerstone for a memorial to the commodore on June 22, 1922, at

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[25]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 1414 (3100 Monument); 20721 (3102 Monument); 10129 (3104 Monument); 14493 (3114 Monument); 9892 (3142 Monument); 9582, 10347 (3170 Monument); 10788 (3101-15 Monument); 16314 (3109-25 Monument). Deed Books: **3104 Monument**: 167/1372, 10/324, 679/704, 650C/326, 642C/779, 632D/500, 534B/149, 524B/385, 436D/547, 418A/241, 344D/377, 325C/349, 297B/467, 291D/309, 280C/127, 272C/231, 252C/149, 238A/464, 286C/65, 280C/134, 239B/354, 239A/343; **3114 Monument**: 236/1969, 782/1032, 587B/433, 501D/231, 430B/19, 400C/27, 358B/107, 325C/349, 286D/461, 311C/269, 297B/467, 312C/5, 284/436, 286D/65, 291D/309, 293A/35, 279C/494, 280C/127, 280C/134, 272C/231, 239A/140, 239B/354, 238A/464, 252C/149, 251A/183; **3101-15 Monument**: 64/1834, 766/53, 743/131, 677B/102, 441B/25, 441B/22, 375A/426, 282D/162, 233B/157, 231CX/468, 214D/528, 203A/436, 202D/135, 200D/285, 250C/236, 243B/231, 234C/155, 212A/291, 208D/191, 208C/88, 201D/429, 201B/402, 200D/79, 199B/297, 195B/76, 177B/161, 281A/43, 281A/43, 269A/33, 201D/106, 201D/100, 194/122, 170B/400, 201D/105, 199A/29, 201B/407; **3129 Monument**: 169/1983, 133/125, 49/693, 744/1805, 416B/273, 406C/101, 397C/80, 396B/232, 350B/247, 336A/56, 336A/57, 318B/316, 231C/468, 214D/528, 203A/436, 202D/135, 200B/49, 200D/285, 200B/47, 197A/143, 165A/239.

the intersection of Belmont and Monument avenues; the monument, sculpted by Richmonder F. William Sievers, was unveiled on Armistice Day, November 11, 1929.[26] The triangular configuration of the south side of the block is a direct result of the extension of Monument at the point where West Franklin veers south. Because the lots on the south side were originally platted to face perpendicular to Franklin, they now front Monument at an angle. However, unlike those lots on the 3000 block, these share a consistent width (just over 26') and developmental history. On the north side are some of the most generous lots on the avenue, and the houses include at least four designed by W. Duncan Lee (Nos. 3100, 3114, 3142, and 3170).

In 1922 owners of lots on the north side adopted covenants providing for a generous setback of 30', along with an agreement not to build apartment houses or buildings for flats. The agreement had no time limit, stating that the restrictions "shall run as covenants with the land and shall apply to the heirs and grantees of the parties hereto" and that it was made, "In consideration of the protection which the covenants herein made will provide to all of the said parties and to their said properties respectively." Signers of the agreement were Matthew McGregor and Willie H. Anderson, Mary M. Lewis, Carter N. and Hattie M. Williams, Lee and Edith L. Paschall, Mrs. A. B. McGeorge, and John W. and Annie S. Williams. According to city directories, only the Lewis and Anderson families ever lived in a house built on the 3100 block.

Although large Colonial Revival residences dominate on the north side of the block, there are two slightly smaller examples of eclectic 1920s architecture at Nos. 3102 and 3104. Built on lots just wider than 30', they are closer in scale to the cottages across the street than to the adjacent properties. The last house built on the block, **No. 3102** is a brick two-story Tudor Revival house with a cross-gable slate roof and a secondary front gable over a Tudor arch leading to a recessed entry. Bands of four windows with segmental arches above designate the first and second floors. The house was built in 1930 for Elsie Greentree; she occupied it with her husband, Irving, owner of a clothing store.

Next door is a slightly larger Mediterranean Revival house at **No. 3104,** with a tile roof and white stucco facade. The roof is hipped in the front, with low attic windows above the cornice line. Three bays line up on the two floors, with recessed arches above the lower windows and an arched limestone surround on the door with fanlight above; limestone trim also defines the edges of the building, and there is a balustrade around the front terrace. The side facade, although it faces an open yard, has only three small arched windows, which light an interior stair.

In August 1922 John W. Williams took out a building permit for No. 3104, where he planned to build a brick two-story residence designed by the Davis Brothers with a flat mansard roof, estimated to cost $13,500. This was just two weeks before the block-owners' agreement, and Williams specified a 30' setback in the permit, along with a 7' elevation from the street. But that building was never erected. In 1927, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch bought the lot, and erected a house for himself. This was Calish's third residence on Monument Avenue, and the first that he built for himself. In 1928 architectural supervisor Harold E. Calisch is listed as the first resident

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[26]Matthew Fontaine Maury vertical file, Valentine Museum; summer exhibition on monuments of Monument Avenue, American Historical Foundation, Richmond, Virginia. In 1921 the Richmond city council renamed that portion of the south side of the 3000 block of Monument Avenue that begins to veer off into West Franklin Street "Maury Place," in anticipation of the monument. According to the July 30, 1958, Richmond News-Leader, the name change was hardly noted (city directories ignored it); it was rescinded by a later ordinance.

Figure 113 North side of the 3100 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3104 (painted white) is on the right; No. 3114 is in center. Boucher, HABS.

of No. 3104; the rabbi and his wife, Essie S. L. Calisch, moved in by 1929. The Calisches sold the house in 1939, after which it changed hands at least once every decade.

The other houses on the north side of the block are large, suburban examples of 1920s Colonial Revival architecture. All are wide, with two or two-and-a-half stories and hipped or side-gable roofs. Three of the four--Nos. 3114, 3142, and 3170--have side porches or sunrooms, an unusual feature east of the 3100 block. The two later houses--Nos. 3100 and 3114 were both built between 1924 and 1927--repeat design elements of the 1923 houses at Nos. 3142 and 3170, giving the block some sense of cohesion.

Similar facades on **Nos. 3100** and **3170** have the bilateral symmetry characteristic of Georgian Revival houses. Seven bays on No. 3170 and five bays on No. 3100, three evenly spaced gable-roofed dormers, and central entrances emphasize the width of the two houses. A broken segmental pediment with urn marks the entry at No. 3170, while No. 3100 has double doors with a transom and sloped metal roof supported by volute brackets. Window treatment is identical on each facade, with modest segmental arches at the latter and dark shutters at the former. Built on opposite corners of the north side, the two houses act as stylistic anchors for the block. Duncan Lee designed No. 3170 for Mathew McGregor Anderson in 1922, and No. 3100 for Merrill E. Raab in 1924. The estimated cost for No. 3170 was $30,000, with a $3,000 garage added later; the cost for No. 3100 was estimated at $26,000.

Duncan Lee also designed the houses at **Nos. 3114** and **3142**, which both emphasize horizontal movement in their facades, with gabled entry pavilions to the left and elaborate one-story solariums to the right of three-bay main blocks. Each is two stories, with a single dormer and a segmental pediment over the doorway. More elaborate classical treatment on No. 3114 includes a Palladian effect at the solarium windows, articulated brick quoins defining the pavilion and building corners, and a rusticated limestone door surround with broken pediment and cartouche above. A brick wall extends along the full 125' front of the lot for No. 3114, which includes three full and two partial lots from the original Sheppard estate plat.

Gus Schwarzschild, vice president of Schwarzschild Brothers Jewelers, acquired the land for No. 3114 in two parcels, the first 85' in 1924 from Carter N. Williams, Jr., and an additional 40' from Henry and Clara Wallerstein in 1928 after the house was built. After Gus died, his widow Rae F. Schwarzschild sold the property to Maurice L. Strause in 1935. The Strauses sold the house to Edwin M. and Nancy Johnson Rucker in 1958; the Ruckers sold it in 1981.

On the south side of the street, the 3100 block is divided between the Lord Fairfax apartment building, which fronts 150' on Franklin and 160' on Monument, and eclectic cottages on the rest of the block. The Lord Fairfax was built in 1923, while the cottages went up as a group in 1926. The cottages are closely spaced on narrow lots, and face Monument Avenue at an angle. The Roseneath Land Company had already laid out lots as fronting on Franklin and sold them by 1907, before Monument Avenue was cut through.

The Lord Fairfax, one of the grandest apartment buildings on Monument Avenue, is built to the limit of its triangular lot on all sides, **Nos. 3101-15 Monument**. Designed by the firm Lindner and Phillips, the Lord Fairfax is a high-style, Beaux Arts-influenced building that is particularly urban in comparison to its neighbors, with entrances at the street level and a long thirteen-bay facade. Breaking up the mass of the building are three entrance bays defined by breaks in the cornice, arched stone window surrounds through the full three stories, and segmental pediments over fluted pilasters at the doors. A parapet runs around the entire building, articulated above the entrance bays with a cross-hatch stone design; further stone decoration includes a medallion and garland frieze under the cornice and lines of stone inlay throughout the facade. A smooth-stone water table raises the first floor off of ground level. The doors have scroll tops, with transoms above.

The Willis Company of Norfolk acquired the triangular lot for the Lord Fairfax in two parcels, each of which had been pulled together from several smaller lots originally sold by the Roseneath Land Company and the Lee Annex Realty Corporation. In January 1923 the company applied for a building permit to construct apartments at an estimated cost of $150,000; they took out a $90,000 deed of trust in August, and another $35,000 mortgage in 1924. By 1924, only five tenants lived at the Lord Fairfax, including a nurse, a traveling salesman, and a druggist. J. N. Willis, Jr., a special agent for the Canadian Sun Life Assurance Company and president of the Willis Company, also lived there. By 1930, thirty-nine apartments were listed in the city directory, six of them vacant. Tenants included a dictaphone operator for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, an assistant repeater for a telegraph company, and the business manager for the Richmond Times Dispatch. In 1931, the Willis Company defaulted on the mortgage, and the property was sold at auction for $30,000 cash and the assumption of a $58,000 deed of trust. Throughout its history, companies and not individuals have owned the Lord Fairfax.

On the west end of the south side, from Nos. 3117 to 3133, nine cottages were built in 1926 for Jeanette A. Mayo at an estimated cost of $100,000. The architect, Carl M. Lindner, briefly owned and occupied the house at No. 3129. Adhering to covenants enacted by the Lee Annex Realty Corporation, these dwellings have a 15' setback from the street and had to be at least $2,500 in value. Even more consistent in scale and massing than the row houses on the 2200 block, these nevertheless demonstrate a variety of styles, including Tudor, Mediterranean, and Colonial Revival. They are small, each measuring just 22'-6" x 44'. Most are two stories, with cross-gabled facades, and all are elevated from the street on berms similar to those across the street. The one exception is No. 3125, which has a simple side-gabled roof and small shed dormers, making it the only two-and-a-half-story house in the row. As on earlier blocks, styles are repeated intermittently, so that nearly identical houses reappear in the row.

The Spanish Colonial Revival houses at **Nos. 3123** and **3131** are white stucco, each with a large arcaded porch that visually extends the house toward the street. The entrances (as well as the first-floor French doors) are arched, with limestone surrounds. A low-pitched front gable extends above the porch on each, and No. 3131 has a tile roof. Two varieties of Tudor Revival cottages appear on the block. Those at **Nos. 3117** and **3127** are similar in form to the Spanish Colonial Revival houses, but with wood porches and steeper front gables covered partially in dark clapboard. White stucco is the primary facade material, with irregular brick trim around the windows and arched entry doors; low brick walls laid in a herringbone pattern enclose the porches. Adding to the Tudor quality of the building is an irregular slate roof on No. 3117.

Figure 114 South side of the 3100 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3133 is on the right; No. 3131 is to the left of it. Boucher, HABS.

Slate roofs also grace **Nos. 3121** and **3129,** the other Tudor examples on the block. These have large clipped front gables with half-timbering, stucco infill (white on No. 3129, gray on No. 3121) and pendants below. The rest of the facade is brick, with a slate pent roof dividing the two floors, limestone surrounding the Tudor-arched front door, and decorative wood shutters on the paired first-floor windows. The other three cottages on the block are Colonial Revival examples, but with elements that tie them stylistically to the other cottages. The solarium and gabled pavilion on **No. 3133** repeat the form of the stucco porch and gable on No. 3131, and the open cast-iron porch supports at **No. 3119** are similar to the wood piers on No. 3117. Like the half-timbered Tudor examples, **No. 3125** has no porch and a slate pent roof separating the floors. In the context of the whole block, even the Colonial Revival style takes on an eclectic flavor.

3200 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN CLEVELAND AND TILDEN STREETS[27]

The 3200 block, between Cleveland and Tilden, is about the same length as neighboring blocks. The south side of the street is an odd-shaped block with a diagonal alley, parallel to West Franklin Street on the south. Nonetheless, all the lots on Monument Avenue are perpendicular to it. The north side of the street has nine lots of uniform depth with an east-west alley at the rear. Lots on the north side of the street are rectangular, but wider than they were in 1916 when subdivided from land owned by Dr. John F. Sheppard. There were fourteen lots platted between Cleveland and Tilden Streets in 1916 and, while lots directly beyond the alley (which border Grace Street) maintain that narrow division today, the lots fronting Monument developed into wider parcels to a total of nine. Along with the 3100 block, this block breaks the general bilateral balance of Monument Avenue, which generally has wider, more spacious blocks and larger-scale architecture on the south side.

The block is entirely residential. The south side was almost entirely developed before the first building was ever erected on the north side. With one exception, construction activity spanned 1911-25 on the south side, while 1922 marked the first year a building was erected on the north side. Sanborn maps show that eleven out of twelve buildings were completed on the south side by 1925, compared to three on the north. There was hurried building on the north side of the block after 1924, with at least one residence under construction each year until 1928. The streetscape of this block is unified by a consistent building setback of 20' that accommodates a generous band of front lawns lying between the street and residences. A variety of architectural revival styles, ranging from one-and-a-half-story to two-and-a-half-story versions, is represented by numerous houses on the block, especially on the north side.

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[27]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 9807, 9808 (3200 Monument); 14963 (3202 Monument); 1527 (3206 Monument); 16810 (3208 Monument); 9487 (3212 Monument); 12473 (3216 Monument); 16798 (3218 Monument); 1983 (3201 Monument); 6212 (3203 Monument); 9853 (3209 Monument); 7341, 7345 (3215-17 Monument); 7066 (3219-21 Monument); 10592, 11177 (3223-25 Monument). Deed Books: **3206 Monument:** 239A/140, 275A/246, 316C/446, 399B/210, 424A/173, 438A/238, 491B/82, 548B/179; **3216 Monument:** 239B/201,202, 278A/473, 433C/463; **3220 Monument:** 239B/201, 279D/456, 292C/37, 312A/115, 514D/282, 526C/225, 538/32, 539B/389, 604B/761, 613B/244, 622/466, 756/1044, 86/380, 101/1611; **3201 Monument:** Henrico Co. Deed Book 170B/400 corrected in 171B/266, 204A/432, 285D/361, 361D/115, 374D/159, 201A/251, 201C/271, 203A/270, 325A/453, 522B/384, 10/1165; **3217 Monument:** 201A/256, 201C/451, 203B/20, 204A/461, 205D/73, 206D/98, 218A/219,220, 229C/407, 234A/409, 238D/95, 240D/146, 240C/161, 242B/29, 245D/269, 254C/464, 267D/319,321, 439C/248, 440C/393, 484D/247, 561B/420, 602A/464, 683B/159, 762/1060.

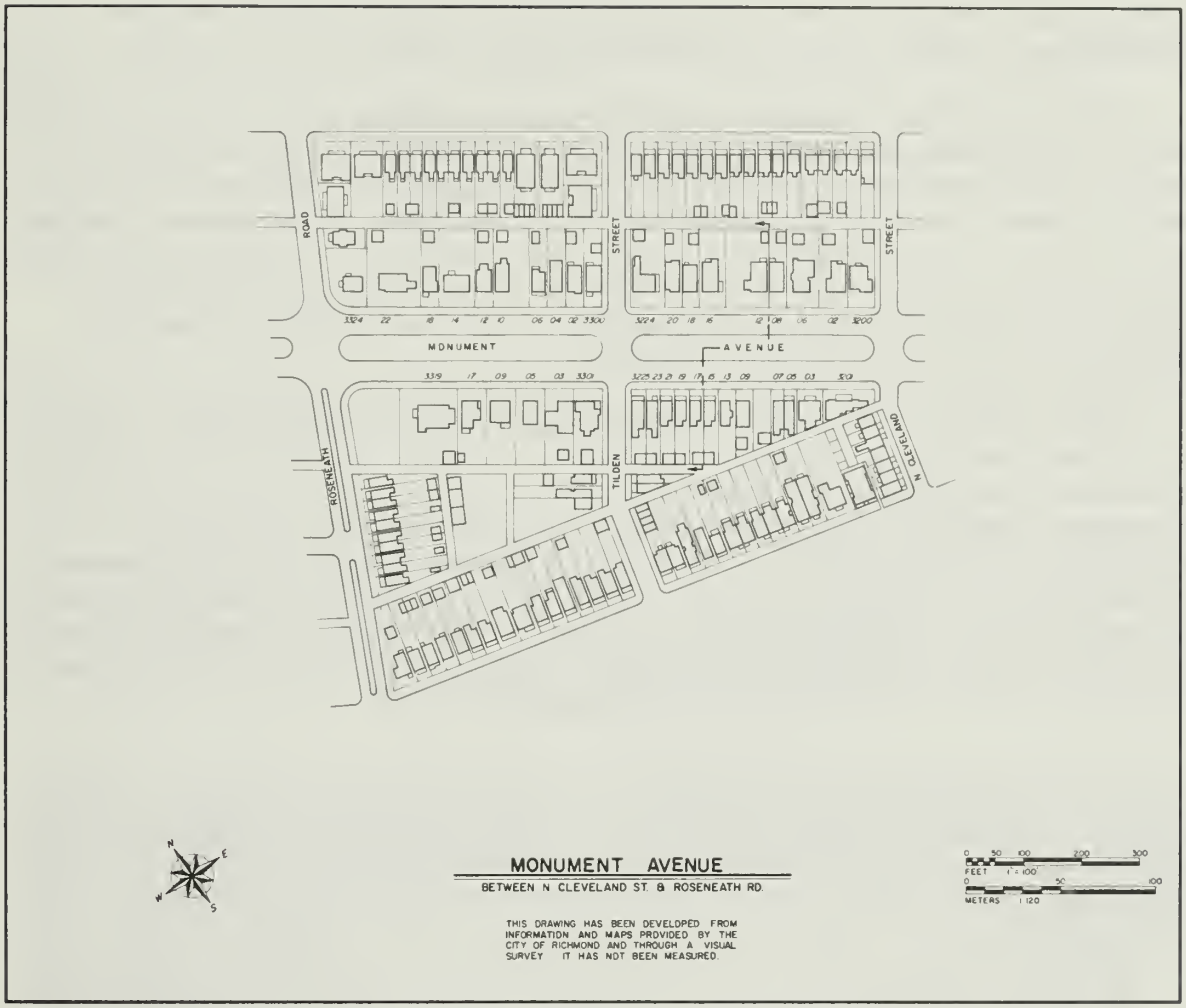
MONUMENT
AVENUE
ROSENEATH ROAD
N CLEVELAND STREET
TILDEN
MONUMENT AVENUE
BETWEEN N CLEVELAND ST. & ROSENEATH RD.
THIS DRAWING HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FROM INFORMATION AND MAPS PROVIDED BY THE CITY OF RICHMOND AND THROUGH A VISUAL SURVEY IT HAS NOT BEEN MEASURED.
FEET
METERS

Figure 115 Footprints of buildings on Monument Avenue between Cleveland Street and Roseneath Road (3200 and 3300 blocks). Spodek, HABS.

One of the first houses built on the north side of the street was not designed in the ubiquitous Colonial Revival style, but is one of two Mediterranean-inspired residences on this block. Both houses at **3200** and **3220 Monument** have two stories, tiled hipped roofs, stucco finishes, and arched doorways and window openings at the first story. The house at No. 3200, designed by Duncan Lee for client Fannie Syele and built in 1922, incorporates a wrought-iron balcony, tiled pent roof and external chimney, giving it an eclectic Spanish appearance, while the house at No. 3220, built in 1926, features a more steeply pitched hipped roof, entablature, and rusticated entrance suggesting a more Italian design influence. Both lots, like most along the north side, have slightly sloping front lawns. Straight walkways and short stairs lead to the respective front doors.

John F. Sheppard owned the property at No. 3220 until 1916 when he sold it and other lots to W. J. Parrish. Parrish kept the land until he sold it to Moses L. Hofheimer in 1922. Hofheimer owned it for one year, then sold the site to Harry Marks. Executors for Marks disposed of the property in 1924 when Sayde Greenebaum purchased the lot for $5,000. Sayde and her husband, Charles, the secretary-treasurer of the Young Men's Shop, might have been

newcomers to Richmond since they were not listed in 1924 or 1925 city directories. The Greenebaums owned the property until Thomas and Jessie G. Beath acquired it in 1952.

An example of the rare Dutch Colonial Revival style on Monument is found at **No. 3212**. It has a three-bay front with a smaller, setback bay to one side and bears the characteristic gambrel roof with flared eaves. The traditional roof line is modified at the upper story by a row of recessed windows with a shallow cantilevered roof. The principal roof has wide overhanging eaves that shelter a central entrance adorned with fluted pilasters and Corinthian capitals. No architect was listed on the 1922 building permit for this house, although A. F. Perrin's name appears as the builder for property owner Jonathan H. Frischkorn. F. Herbert French is identified as the architect on plans filed at city hall.

Tudor-styled houses also appear on this block at **Nos. 3206** and **3218**. Each is two-and-a-half stories and has sharp cross gables facing the street. The latter house uses more materials than the former one, although both feature interesting brick patterns and slate roofs. Built about one year apart in 1927 and 1928, these are reminiscent of the older, contrasting Tudor pair on the 2600 block of Monument. Arthur L. Straus was the original owner of No. 3206, having acquired the lot from Arthur S. Brinkley and his wife, Alice Rayner, in 1925. The Brinkleys bought the land from Sheppard's heir, May J. Sheppard, in 1921. Straus hired Otis K. Asbury to design this house, which the Straus family possessed until 1940. Charles H. Phillips owned and built the house at No. 3218, not crediting any architect on the building permit.

The remaining houses on the north side of the street at Nos. 3216, 3202, 3224, and 3208 are in the Colonial Revival style, but are smaller versions of those depicted on eastern blocks of Monument. These houses, built from 1924 to 1928, suggest the continued popularity of this style and its versatile application for modern residences of the mid 1920s. They demonstrate the variety of effects that could be achieved by adjusting the width of the facade and changing door placement.

The house at **No. 3208**, built 1928, is two bays wide with two stories, an entrance with oversized arched pediment, and a bay window. A symmetrical three-bay version with central

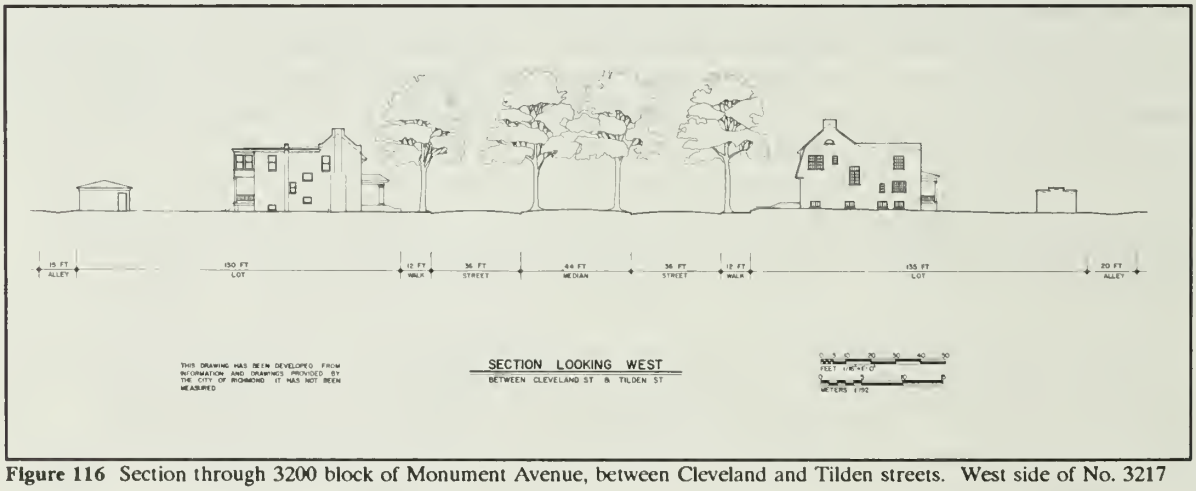

Figure 116 Section through 3200 block of Monument Avenue, between Cleveland and Tilden streets. West side of No. 3217 (reversed, on left) and east side of No. 3212 (right). Spodek, HABS.

entrance and side porch at **No. 3216** suggests moderation when compared to the other Colonial Revival examples on this block. It is two-and-a-half stories with a pair of dormers centered over a middle bay. The front door is enclosed by a columned porch supporting a broken pediment. Regular fenestration is emphasized by louvered shutters with crescent-moon designs in the top panel. The 3216 residence was built by A. F. Perrin for three Van Vort sisters--Ray, Fannie, and Carrie--in 1924. The Van Vorts bought the land from W. J. Parrish, a widower who had purchased two parcels in 1916--one from John F. Sheppard and the other from Marie and T. A. Parsons.

The other Colonial Revival-style houses on the north side are two-and-a-half-story brick houses with three dormers and gable roofs, but are broader than the previous three examples: **No. 3202** is 39' wide with four bays, while **No. 3224** has a five-bay front. Robert L. Wallerstein built the house at No. 3202 for Real Estate Holding Corporation according to designs by architect Carl Lindner.

There are two Colonial Revival-style houses on the south side, both three bays wide, but very different in their massing. The residence at **No. 3203** was built about 1911. Its blocky facade is softened by a filleted porch and upper deck supported by four columns and a pair of pilasters. Stairs lead to an elevated first story accentuating the symmetry and entrance of this house. Keystones, quoins, sidelights and fanlight, and a Palladian-influenced dormer suggest the relation of this block's early residence to other classically inspired homes down the street. The Colonial

Figure 117 North side of 3200 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3202, with dormers, is on right; No. 3206 is next to it, center. Boucher, HABS.

Revival town house at **No. 3209** was constructed in 1922 by R. M. Anderson & Company for owner Charles Rose. Its simple facade is restricted to one main design element--a pedimented and columned entry with fan motif above the door.

In contrast to traditional architectural forms on this block, the house at **No. 3201** is an eccentric composition by Carneal and Johnston. Perhaps the most unusual house on Monument Avenue, its odd form is a response to its site, the triangular lot at the southwest corner of Tilden and Monument. The five-bay front stretches 80' across the lot and gives the house an imposing look, without revealing its shallow depth of 35' at its deepest point. The depth is reduced to just one room, or about 8', at the eastern end.

This intriguing two-and-a-half-story house of 1911 boasts odd design combinations that put it in a class all its own. A wide porch with Ionic columns and balustraded deck is centered on the facade between two slightly protruding parapet walls. Limestone lintels and a dentiled cornice repeat the horizontal emphasis created by the elongated porch, although arched dormers and parapeted gables rise from the roofline, forcing the eye upward. The curving and canted walls of the rear elevation are topped with a modified mansard roof to create an architectural amusement not noted on other Monument residences. A short brick wall with iron fence outlines the front and eastern side yard without isolating the house from the street.

The residence was built for Mary Held and Ida Hawkins at an estimated cost of $12,200. Both Hawkins and Held were married, yet their husband's names do not appear on the deed. Held resided at her home until 1925, when she sold it to Priscilla Bradley Cabell. The house was the residence of Cabell and her novelist husband James Branch Cabell for the next quarter of a century. Upon Priscilla's death, the house became the property of her husband, until his death in the late 1950s.

No. 3201 is a unique diversion on this block, which tends to render later buildings less interesting. Although the Held house was one of the first on the block, its uniqueness did not intimidate other land owners from constructing what they desired, even if the designs were less original. The two-and-a-half-story house at **Nos. 3205-07** was built as a double house about 1919. Its dormer windows, overhanging eaves with knee braces, front porch with pier supports, and stucco exterior and tile roof produce an eclectic composition.

Three pairs of single-family dwellings at **Nos. 3215-25** were erected by the Davis Brothers in 1919-23. In November 1919, a building permit was granted for the pair in the middle at No. 3219-21 (formerly No. 3215-17) and, five months later, one for Nos. 3215-17 (formerly Nos. 3211-13). The four houses are the same size (22' x 40') and plan (fig. 64). They are stucco, brick, or combination thereof and all feature a cross gable (clipped or otherwise) centered on the front, breaking through a cornice with knee-brace supports. A one-story front porch with columns, piers, or both can be found on each. They demonstrate how developers often employ one plan, but alter the facade so neighboring houses do not appear identical. Certain features are used frequently, but not in the same combination. For example, the houses at Nos. 3217 and 3219 were built about one year apart and have the same front porch of pier and column supports, while houses at Nos. 3215 and 3221 have similar porches with double columns. House Nos. 3221 and 3217 exhibit the same fenestration, but it is not immediately noticeable because they are not side by side. These houses share neighboring terraced lots and therefore have common settings, including front yards with stair approaches that lead up to the porch from the sidewalk. Three of

Figure 118 South side of 3200 block of Monument Avenue. Left to right: Nos. 3215, 3217 (behind tree), 3219. Boucher, HABS.

the four yards are trimmed at the front and sides by brick curbs of three to four courses.

The lengthy chain of title on the No. 3217 parcel involves fourteen owners from the time it was sold by Sheppard heirs in 1909 to the time H. D. Lipford acquired it in 1919 and undertook construction. Lipford, president of Plant-Lipford, Inc., and a proprietor of the Piggly Wiggly food market, lived at 2223 Monument Ave. Title transferred to the builders, L. Thornton Davis and E. Leslie Davis, on September 1, 1920. Walter R. Taylor, a manufacturer agent for Taylor Brothers, bought the house the same day and owned it until 1943.

In 1923, the Davis Brothers erected the two houses at Nos. 3223 and 3225. These fraternal twins of two-and-a-half stories are two bays wide, though dissimilar porches, gabled wall dormers of differing pitches, and subtle brick patterns distinguish these houses from one another. Colonial Revival elements team with Craftsman features on this pair, as well as the previous four cottages, to lend a village-like effect to the southwest corner of the 3200 block.

The last house constructed on the block is at **No. 3213**. Its existence evidently created an address dilemma since it was built on a lot that did not have a number assigned to it. According to Sanborn maps of 1925 and 1951, the site was a vacant (and unaddressed) lot between Nos. 3209 and 3211. Designed by Frederick Hyland, the house was built in 1964. The scale of this two-and-a-half-story brick house is compatible with other buildings in the neighborhood, but its one-bay form, the absence of a porch, an unconventional setback entrance at a side vestibule, and

a repeated series of casement windows reveal a contemporary association not manifested elsewhere on the block.

3300 BLOCK OF MONUMENT AVENUE, BETWEEN TILDEN STREET AND ROSENEATH ROAD[28]

All along the avenue, styles and forms that suggest the beginnings of a suburban attitude have appeared; on the 3300 block, the transition is in full swing. Originally part of the Sheppard estate, the 3300 block is the first section of Monument on which houses built after 1930 become part of the essential fabric of the street. Even some built during the 1920s belong more to the burgeoning world of suburban developments than to that of urban elegance, with their side yards and porches, smaller dimensions, and vernacular-influenced design. Development on the north and south sides of the 3300 block was more or less even, with eight houses erected between 1920 and 1930, four between 1935 and 1950, and four after 1950. Larger lots and smaller houses prevail, even as some maintain high-style elements borrowed from grander buildings down the street. With houses set more or less in the middle of their lots and a lack of hospitable front porches, the suburban character of the block is more that of a later automobile suburb than that of a tightly arranged streetcar suburb. In 1924, the city condemned property to round the block corners at Monument and Roseneath; with the small bench at the southeastern corner on an open grassy lot, the intersection almost has the feel of a park.

The earliest house on the block, **3301,** is a classic example of a type of Colonial Revival home popular from the 1920s through the 1950s. Although only 5' separate it from No. 3303, No. 3301 achieves an almost suburban effect with a shed-roofed side porch on its corner lot. The four-bay front has white louvered shutters and multi-light windows. On the pitched slate roof, three substantial hipped dormers light an attic story. The side porch and off-center broken-pedimented entry porch are the most elaborate decorative elements, and they help to break up the regularity of the facade.

Ora E. Garner, a widow, bought this 50'-front lot in 1919, had the house built and lived here until 1929; she then sold it to Virginia R. Sternheimer, who moved there with her husband, Frederick Sternheimer, the owner of an army goods store, from the Stafford apartments at 2007 Monument Ave. By 1958 Virginia had remarried, and with her new husband, Herbert Adler, sold the property to Lewis Sternheimer, who sold it in 1963 to the current owner.

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[28]Sources of information on buildings on this block include: Richmond City Directories. Richmond Building Permits: 18863 (3300 Monument); 9144 (3306 Monument); 23654 (3310 Monument); 16880 (3312 Monument); 19589 (3318 Monument); 30468, 30684 (3322 Monument); 26046, 17927 (3324 Monument); 8112 (3301 Monument); 14771 (3303 Monument); 9495 (3317 Monument). Deed Books: **3300 Monument**: 681A/199, 587C/480, 586B/25, 564B/349, 397D/275, 360B/405, 353A/193, 343C/261, 247A/65; **3306 Monument**: 203/1450, 767/1787, 726/520, 526B/302, 444B/189, WB26/218, 274D/230, 249A/382, 239A/140; **3314 Monument**: 80/1562, 633C/62, 628B/550, 575A/167, 542B/306, 431D/367, 420B/235, 384C/484, 380A/233, 285A/331, 249B/439, 248A/103, 239A/140; **3301 Monument**: 620C/448, 590B/303, 365A/285, 253D/383, 240A/273, 205B/100, 201D/500, 201A/256; **3309 Monument**: 813/615, 685A/8, 486D/518, 272C/176, WB36/371, 221B/502, 218B/285, 218DD/216, 212C/107, 210B/265, 205D/446, 203C/499, 203A/406, 201A/256; **3319 Monument**: 686A/700, 503C/441, 441CC/157, 391A/294, 357D/118, 309D/227, 234C/387, 234C/333, 221B/351, 219B/262, 202B/159, 201A/256.

A house similar to No. 3301 but one bay narrower was built in 1922 by the Davis Brothers at **No. 3317**, again with three dormers, side porch, and rear wing behind the porch. A pair of narrow windows sits above a modest entry.

Moving away from typical Colonial Revival massing is **No. 3303,** with two bays and two stories visible in the primary facade, and a one-and-one-half-story recessed wing that includes a secondary entrance. Two steep cross gables poke out through the front cornice, and a heavy broken segmental pediment juts forward to create an entry porch. The Davis Brothers designed and built the house for a corporation, Bellevue Park Inc., in 1925.

On the north side of the street, houses built during the 1920s range from variations on the Colonial Revival theme to typical eclectic styles of the 1920s. Although not a true foursquare, **No. 3306** alludes to the form; Craftsman influence includes braced overhanging eaves, a single wide dormer on a low hipped roof (also with braced eaves), and a porch that extends the full width of the house. The entrance door is surrounded by sidelights and transom window, with a single window above on the second floor; triple windows on both floors illuminate the right half of the house.

P. Albert Smith, an attorney, paid $3,500 for this lot at auction in 1921. The previous owners, Marie L. and Townsend A. Parsons, held the land after the partitioning of the Sheppard estate in 1916, but defaulted on their $3,920 deed of trust. The house was built in 1922 at an approximate cost of $9,000 by J. W. Cunningham, with no architect named on the building permit. P. Albert willed the property to his wife Ann DeLeisz Smith in 1928, and she sold it in 1944 to Sadie B. Levy. Sadie and her husband, Harry Levy, deeded it in 1950 to Ernest and May Bradshaw "as tenants," and May, then a widow, sold it in 1977.

Later houses built during the 1920s on the north side of the block include two Colonial Revival examples at **Nos. 3312** and **3318.** Both sit on relatively small lots, similar to small town houses farther east on the avenue, with three bays and two stories, flat mansard roofs, and off-center entries. Most exuberant on No. 3312 is the rounded front porch, supported by Corinthian columns and four pilasters, which looks like it was borrowed from a grander house down the street. The more modest porch on No. 3318 is essentially an extension of the tiled pent roof that separates the two floors. The shed-roofed wall dormer and tile roof on No. 3318 suggest a Mediterranean influence. A. W. Harmon designed No. 3312 in 1926; Matt P. Will designed No. 3318 in 1928.

As on most blocks west of Boulevard, 3300 has its quota of eclectic cottages, here built in the late 1920s-30s. All have two stories and two bays, and asymmetrical facades defined by front gables or slightly projecting wings.

The French Provincial cottage at **No. 3302**, built by 1929, has a wing that blends into the steep hipped roof line with flared eaves. The second-floor casement windows are identical, while the first-floor French doors are opposite a louvered entrance door; a brightly painted cornucopia cartouche accents the wing. Both **Nos. 3300** and **3310** are Tudor Revival examples, although No. 3310, built in 1936 to designs by Matt P. Will, is a grimmer version. Front gables dominate on both, with triple windows at the first floor. A large slate-roofed oriel at No. 3310 projects from the gabled pavilion; the entrance is to the side, recessed behind a Tudor arch. The limestone trim on No. 3300, built in 1928 and designed by Carl Lindner, gives it a more cheerful facade, as does

Figure 119 North side of the 3300 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3300 is on right; No. 3302 is white building next to it. Boucher, HABS.

the half-timbering above the door and in the pediment of a perky entry porch.

From 1940 to 1963, seven more houses went up on the 3300 block, all two stories tall, brick, and Colonial Revival. The majority are wider than they are deep. In the 3300 block backyards attain a significance unknown on earlier sections of the avenue. Details are modest on all the post-1940 houses, with attention usually focused on a central entry. None features a large front porch; surface detail is limited to minor variations in brick work.

The buildings constructed in the 1940s--**Nos. 3324, 3322,** and **3319**--are particularly consistent, each with three widely spaced bays, a low-pitched roof, and a central entry designated by a straight walkway, four steps, pilasters and a pediment. Although Nos. 3319 and 3322 are constructed of concrete blocks, all have similar brick facing, with splayed jack arches over the windows. A brick stringcourse between the two floors emphasizes the horizontal on Nos. 3319 and 3324. Two-story side porches extend Nos. 3319 and 3324, and No. 3319 has a two-story wing as well. A one-story wing and a solarium balance each other on No. 3322, which was designed by owner Julius Novick in 1949. Matt Will was architect of No. 3324 and Frank Sims designed the duplex at No. 3319.

Built in 1950, **No. 3309** is similar to the 1940s houses in its symmetrical three-bay facade, here without side porches or wings. A small pedimented porch marks the entry. It, too, is built of concrete block and faced with brick. R. L. Peters bought the land for No. 3309 in 1921 from

Harvey C. and Hester Cabell Tabb Brown; he died in 1937, instructing that his property be sold and the profits divided among his children. Nine years later, Myrtis W. Blackburn bought the land; she had the house built in 1950 and owned the property until 1973.

The last houses on the block are an odd amalgam of 1950s-60s architecture. The duplex at **No. 3314** has an almost institutional facade, with four identical square windows on each side, separated by the entrance hall and stair. Like the 1940s houses, it is wider than it is deep (48' x 28'), with a low hipped roof and five bays. Decoration on No. 3314 is limited to brick detailing around the windows; the small entry porch is supported by thin metal columns. After the partitioning of the Sheppard estate in 1916, the land for No. 3314 changed hands seven times before Benjamin M. and E. Elizabeth Saslaw bought it in 1952, building the house the next year. The Saslaws sold the property to Morton and Hannah D. Marks "as tenants" in 1956; after Hannah died in 1964, her heirs sold it to Willis H. and Elsie K. Cavedo. Elsie Cavedo kept the house until 1986.

One of the few side-entry houses on Monument, **No. 3304**, presents a door-less facade to the street, with two matching first-floor windows and a large oriel above. Two steps lead off the sidewalk through brick piers to a path that curves left to the entry on the side. Owner Amy Kay O'Flaherty built No. 3304 in 1959.

Figure 120 South side of 3300 block of Monument Avenue. No. 3305 on left; No. 3309 next to it, center. Boucher, HABS.

With its two-story, two-bay form, **No. 3305** is a small house, but one with pretensions. A wide bay window stretching across two-thirds of the first floor and irregular mottled brick work throughout the facade suggests a self-conscious attempt at "design." Most peculiar is a segmental arch above the second-floor window: the cornice breaks to accommodate the keystone, and the wall bubbles up above the roofline in a sort of eyebrow. Owner/builder Harry Stein commissioned S. E. Turner to design the house, which was constructed in 1963.

Beyond Roseneath Road, the atmosphere changes, as Monument Avenue's roadway narrows and the neighborhood becomes increasingly suburban in appearance. Although this suburbanization is gradual, having appeared throughout the former Sheppard estate to the east, the interstate highway that cuts across Monument Avenue one block west of Roseneath provides a convenient punctuation point. Monument Avenue continues west, but it is no longer easily perceived as a majestic, in-town boulevard.

Monument Avenue between Lombardy Street and Roseneath Road is a cohesive area with a consistent road width, continuous plantings, and harmonious architecture. Yet it was created out of a myriad of unconnected factors: separate monument committees and campaigns, different subdivisions with varying deed restrictions and lot sizes, and a host of architects and builders employed by private owners and developers. No wonder, then, that we look behind the facts of its construction to possible reasons why Monument Avenue developed as it did, and find that the coincidence of people (a new professional elite desiring social acceptance) and time and place (industrial city of the New South rising from the ashes of the capital of the Confederacy) produced a design sensibility that was conservative yet modern. The result--an urban precinct centered on civic art, framed by well-designed facades of private homes that reinforce its eliteness--is one of Richmond's finest public amenities, virtually unchanged in more than half a century.

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APPENDIX A: MONUMENT AVENUE ARCHITECTS

Note: Date is the building permit application date, unless otherwise indicated.

ARCHITECTS

Architect/Address	Type	Estimated Cost	Date
D. Wiley Anderson			
2222 Monument*	House		c.1907
1837 Monument	House & Stable	$20,000	1908
2024 Monument	House & Stable	$10,000	1909
1612 Monument	House	$12,000	1910
2516 Monument	House	$10,000	1911
2910 Monument	House	$35,000	1912
2708 Monument	House	$30,000	1913
2230 Monument	House	$15,000	1914
2710 Monument	House	$25,000	1914

* per "A Few Recent Designs" advertising portfolio printed for D. Wiley Anderson (Baltimore, Maryland: F. Heath Coggins & Co., n.d.) in the possession of the architect's grandson, Keith Van Allen.

Otis K. Asbury			
2915 Monument	House	$ 8,250	1921
2917 Monument	House	$ 8,250	1921
1220 W. Franklin	House	$14,500	1923
2502 Monument	House	$28,000	1924
2607 Monument	House	$ 8,000	1924
3206 Monument	House	$22,000	1925

Asbury & Whitehurst (Otis K. Asbury and Herbert C. Whitehurst)			
2704 Monument	House	$ 7,500	1911
2504 Monument	House	$12,000	1913
2036 Monument	House	$15,600	1914

Noland & Baskervill (William C. Noland and Henry E. Baskervill)			
2020 Monument*	House		1905
1832 Monument*	House		1906
2003 Monument*	House		1907
1201 W. Franklin	Church	$93,000	1911

* per original drawings

Baskervill & Lambert (Henry E. Baskervill and Garey Lambert)			
2304 Monument	House	$77,000	1924
2609 Monument	House	$32,414	1925

Walter Blair

2327 Monument	House	$35,000	1913

William L. Bottomley

2309 Monument	House	$20,000	1916
2315 Monument	House	$50,000	1922
1600 Monument	Apartments	$325,000	1924
2601 Monument	House	$33,000	1924
2714 Monument	House & Garage	$40,000	1925
2301 Monument	House	$47,000	1925
2320 Monument	House	$39,000	1926
1800 Monument	House	$38,000	1929

Charles K. Bryant

2702 Monument	House	$13,000	1910
2330 Monument	House	$15,000	1912

M. J. Dimmock

1205 W. Franklin*	House		c.1888
1839 Monument	House	$18,000	1908

* Richmond, Virginia: The New South (Richmond: George W. Engelhardt & Co., n.d., c.1888) p.26.

Claude K. Howell

2023 Monument	House	$12,000	1908
2220 Monument	House	$10,000	1908

Albert F. Huntt

2204 Monument	House	$16,000	1908
2213 Monument	House	$ 9,000	1909
2614 Monument	House	$10,800	1911
2031 Monument	House	$13,980	1912
2306 Monument	House	$12,000	1912
2015 Monument	House	$11,954	1914
2510 Monument	Apartments	$35,000	1916
2512 Monument	Apartments	$35,000	1916
2300 Monument*	House		1910

* permit missing

Buildings Attributed to Huntt (stylistic basis only)

2007 Monument	House		c.1909
2500 Monument	House		c.1913

Carneal & Johnston (William L. Carneal and James M. A. Johnston)

2514 Monument	House	$ 8,500	1910
3201 Monument	House	$12,200	1911
2215 Monument	Apartments	$35,100	1912
2035 Monument	House	$25,000	1920

Buildings Attributed to Carneal & Johnston

2312 Monument			1915
2037 Monument			c.1911

W. Duncan Lee

1821 Monument	House	$18,000	1912
2336 Monument	House	$12,400	1913
2325 Monument	House	$45,000	1914
2712 Monument	House	$20,000	1915
2307 Monument	House	$19,500	1915
3142 Monument	House	$26,000	1922
3170 Monument	House	$30,000	1922
3200 Monument	House	$20,000	1922
2605 Monument	House	$32,000	1923
3100 Monument	House	$26,000	1924
3114 Monument	House	$40,000	1925
2017-19 Monument	House & Office	$22,800	1926
2830 Monument	Apartments	$20,850	1927

Building attributed to Lee:

2314 Monument	House		1915?

Carl Lindner

3117 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3119 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3121 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3123 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3125 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3127 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3129 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3131 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3133 Monument	House	$11,111	1926
3202 Monument	House	$20,000	1926
3300 Monument	House	$10,000	1928
3302 Monument	House	$10,000	1928
3102 Monument	House	$16,000	1929

Lindner & Phillips

3101-15 Monument	Apartments	$150,000	1923

Lindner & Rowlett

503-07 N. Lombardy	Church & Parish Hse	$100,000	1926*

*see footnote regarding date under discussion of architects, chapter 3.

Peebles & Ferguson (John K. Peebles)

1627 Monument	Sunday School	$107,268	1919
1627 Monument	Church	$120,818	1922
1635 Monument	House	$22,000	1927
1631 Monument*	House		

*permit missing

John R. Pope

2501 Monument	House	$160,000	1917

Charles M. Robinson

1603 Monument	Church/Parsonage	$50,000	1909
413 Stuart Circle	Hospital	$80,000	1912

Bascom Rowlett

2235 Monument	Apartments	$60,000	1924

Max E. Ruehrmund

2805 Monument	Apartments	$65,000	1919
3007 Monument	House	$25,000	1919
3009 Monument	Apartments	$65,000	1921
3015 Monument	House	$13,500	1921
1206 W. Franklin	Apartments	$150,000	1925
1214 W. Franklin	Apartments	$160,000	1925

Scarborough & Howell (Francis W. Scarborough & Claude K. Howell)

2012 Monument	House	$12,500	1909
2340 Monument	House	$12,600	1909
2338 Monument	House	$10,000	1909
1643 Monument	House	$13,000	1909
2216 Monument	House	$12,500	1909
2218 Monument	House	$15,000	1910

Isaac T. Skinner

2217 Monument	House	$ 5,000	1912
2219 Monument	House	$ 5,000	1912
2221 Monument	House	$ 5,000	1912
2223 Monument	House	$ 5,000	1912
2227-29 Monument	House	$10,000	1913
2205-07 Monument	House	$12,000	1914
2225 Monument	House	$10,000	1915
1808 Monument	House & Garage	$23,900	1925

William C. West

2700 Monument	House	$ 8,000	1908

Marcellus Wright

1209 West Franklin	House	$12,000	1912
1614 Monument	House	$12,000	1912
2324 Monument*	House & Garage	$11,900	1913
2923 Monument	Apartments	$40,000	1922
2716 Monument	House	$20,000	1925
2201 Monument	Church		c.1931

* Alteration done in 1929 by Baskervill and Lambert

BUILDERS LISTED AS ARCHITECT

Builder/Address	Type	Estimated Cost	Date
R. M. Anderson & Company			
3021 Monument Avenue	House	$16,000	1921
3209 Monument Avenue	House	$10,000	1922

Davis Brothers, Inc.

2810 Monument	Apartments	$25,000	1918
2812 Monument	Apartments	$25,000	1918
3219 Monument	House	$ 8,500	1919
3221 Monument	House	$ 8,500	1919
3215 Monument	House	$12,500	1920
3217 Monument	House	$12,500	1920
2902 Monument	House	$90,000	1921
3223 Monument	House	$10,500	1922
3225 Monument	House	$10,500	1922
3317 Monument	House	$14,500	1922
3029 Monument	Apartments	$35,000	1923
2820 Monument	Apartments	$20,000	1924
2822 Monument	Apartments	$20,000	1924
2824 Monument	Apartments	$20,000	1924
3303 Monument	House	$13,000	1925
3104 Monument	House	$13,500	1922

W. E. Purcell, Jr.

2816 Monument	Apartments	$60,000	1924
3004 Monument	Apartments	$42,500	1924
2832 Monument	Apartments	$50,000	1924

F. B. Walker

3000 Monument	Apartments	$50,000	1922
2916 Monument	House	$18,000	1925
2914 Monument	House	$12,000	1924

APPENDIX B: FIRST OWNERS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

NB: Building dates listed here were derived from city directories (CD), building permit applications (app), final inspection dates when shown on building permits (ins), deeds (dds), and Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps (San). First owners were determined from directories and permits. When two owners are listed for a building dated by building permit, the underlined name is that shown as owner on the permit; when this is a married woman, city directories usually list the male head of household as resident (Richmond city directories do not list all the occupants of a house).

Also, 1906 was the first year building permits were required by the city, but the new regulation was not well enforced until 1908. Final inspection dates indicate completion of the structure described in the permit application, but are not regularly recorded on permits after the mid 1920s. Two city directory dates for one address indicate that the house was listed in the street index as vacant the first year; the owner was shown as resident by the second date. A listing as "vacant" does not necessarily mean that construction on the house was completed.

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W. Franklin St.			
1205 (was 1201)	1889 CD	Robert W. Powers	Powers, Taylor & Co., whol druggists, comm. merchants
1219 (was 1215)	1900 CD	Langbourne M. Williams	v-p, James River Construction Co.; sec-treas, Richmond Mica Co.; partner, John L. Williams & Sons, bankers and brokers
		Murray M. McGuire	McGuire & Bryan (John Stewart Bryan), attys at law
1201	1913 ins	St. James's Church	
1209 (was 1207?)	1913 ins	Dr. W. Lowndes Peple	physician
1213 (was 1209?)	1913 ins	Philip A. Fore	v-p, Commonwealth Lumber Corp.
1211	1914 CD	Stafford H. Parker	auditor, American National Bank
1212	1922 CD	Edward L. Word	cashier, Broad Street Bank
1217	1922 CD	Samuel S. Dear	no occupation given
1222	1922 CD	Dr. Clifton M. Miller	physician, Stuart Circle Hospital
1215	1923 CD	Lee Fergusson	Lee Fergusson Piano Co.
[what was formerly 1215 becomes 1219 W. Franklin]			
1220	1925 CD	(Mrs.) P. Armistead McCarty	slsmn, Richmond Dry Goods Co.
1208 (& 1208A)	1925 CD	Mrs. Louise B. Page	widow of W. B. Page
		Mrs. Pattie B. Augustine	widow of James Augustine
1207	1926 CD	The Merlin Apts.	
1206	1926 CD	The Rosa Apartments	
		W. D. Selden	no occupation given
1214-16	1926 CD	The Gill Apartments	
		Max E. Ruehrmund	architect
1218	1926 CD	Heath Lorton	no listing

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413 Stuart Circle	1913 ins	Stuart Circle Hospital	
501	[date unclear]	Bennett Puryear	Richmond College pres. house
503-07	1921/1926-8	St. John's Church	

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Monument Ave.			
1601	1894 CD	Otway Warwick	Warwick Bros., tobacco mfrs supplies (w/ Byrd Warwick)
1616	1903 CD	Langhorne Putney	1st v-p, Stephen Putney Shoe Co.
		(Mrs. Emma C. Gordan)	widow of Thomas
1620	1903 CD	Charles Cohen	M. Cohen Son & Co., whol dry goods

1626	1903 CD	Jacob Coleman	partner, M. Cohen Son & Co. (w/Chas. Cohen)
	[in 1907,	Isadore I. Strause	Strause Bros. & Co., whol. dry goods, props., Southern Clothing Mfg. Co.]
1634 (was 1632)	1903 CD	Leon L. Strause	Leaf tobacco; pres, Chelf Chemical Co.
	[after 1904,	E. D. Taylor	v-p, Powers-Taylor Drug Co.
1622	1907 CD	Emanuel/Rosa Belle Raab	[occup. not specified; off. in Amer. Nat'l Bank Bldg.]
1624	1907 CD	Isaac Hutzler	A. Hutzler's Sons, dry goods
1628	1907 CD	Roland D. Harlow	R. D. Harlow Co., feed
1603	1910 ins	First English Lutheran	
1633	1910 ins	B. Rand Wellford	Wellford & Taylor, attys. (w/ Joseph C. Taylor)
1643	1910 ins	John G. Farland	pres/treas., Sydnor Pump & Well Co.
1612	1910 ins	Mrs. Ada Strause	widow of Isadore [lived at the Stafford, 1910]
1611	1911 CD	Dr. Edward J. Mosely, Jr.	physician
1631	1911 CD	Mrs. Mary McD. Allen	widow of Otway Slaughter Allen
1618	1912 CD	Isaac Lichtenstein	L. Lichtenstein's Sons, dry goods (brother is Jacob)
1614	1913 ins	Dr. Marvin E. Nuckols	physician
1619	1918 CD	Collegiate School for Girls Helen Baker	
1617 (1615)	1922 CD	Helen Baker/Nadine Ward	[not listed]
1627	1920 ins/1922 CD	Grace Covenant Church	
1637 (was 1633)	1925 CD	Emsley G. Higgenbotham	civil engineer
1600	1925 CD	Stuart Court Apartments	
1630-32	1926 CD	E. D. Taylor (apts.)	
1635	1928 CD	Dr. David M. Mann	physician
1605	1954 (cornerstone)	Scherer Building	

****

413 N. Allen	1921 deeds	Randolph Watkins	

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1842 Monument	1902 CD	George E. Guvernator	pres, Consumer Ice Co.; sec., Home Brewing Co.
1811	1904 CD	George J. Freedley	gen mgr & v-p, Cardwell Machine Co. (agricultural implement manfrs)
1812	1905 San	Louis W. Pizzini	gen. mgr, W. D. Moses & Co, pianos, organs, sheet music
1831	1905 San	H. H. George, Sr/Jr.	Sr.: building contractor; Jr.: student
1835	1905 CD	Frederick Phillips	civil engineer
1817	1905 San/1906 CD	Bayard H. Ellington	Ellington & Guy (w/ Chas. Guy), lumber
1819	1905 San/1906-07 CD	Robert G. Thornton James Lewis Anderson	mgr. of sales, Richmond Paper Mfg. Co. attorney
1822	1906 CD	Edward M. Hoadley	civil engineer
1824	1905 San/1906-07 CD	Isaac Thalhimer	Thalhimer Bros., dry goods, notions, carpets
1840	1905 San/1906 CD	Bertha Binswanger	widow of Samuel, Binswanger & Co., bldg supplies, glass
1815	1905 San/1907 CD	O. Herbert Funsten	J. B. Elam & Co., real estate, loans, auctioneers
1820	1907 CD	Garrett B. Wall	real estate agt., C&O Railroad

1825	1907 CD	James B. Elam	J. B. Elam & Co., real estate, loans, auctioneers
1826	1907 CD	Joseph H. Estes	mgr., notions dept., Drewry-Hughes Co., whol dry goods and notions
1828	1907 CD	Williamson Talley	Williamson Talley & Co., general ins. agts.
1832	1907 CD	William J. Whitehurst	w/ Mayo, Hysore & Co., tobacco machinery; pres., Coffee Machine Co.; pres., Virginia Mechanics Institute; doors, blinds, sashes, etc. (own co.)
		Mrs. M. C. Larus	
1810 (1804: 1909ff)	1908 CD	Julien H. Hill	asst. cashier, National State Bank
1816	1908 CD	Mrs. Carrie L. Waddey	widow of Everett; [son Albert is mining engineer] Everett Waddey Co., stationers, printer, book binders, engravers
1837	1908 ins	Thomas Tunstall Adams	T. T. Adams Co., whol hardwood lumber
1839	1908 ins	Luther H. Jenkins	pres., The Hermitage Press, Inc.
1834	1908 CD	Charles R. Guy	v-p/treas., Ellington & Guy, lumber
1821	1913 ins	James A. Moncure	sec/treas., Richmond Guano Co., Powhatan Chemical Co., Venable Fertilizer Co.
1830	1913 CD	Henry Clarke	pres., H. Clarke & Sons, whol wine, whiskey
1808 (was 1800)	1926 CD	Mrs. Martha A. Wise	widow of L. W. Wise
1800 (was 1806?)	1931 CD	Robert M. Jeffress	pres, Wortendyke Mfg Co (paper mfrs); v-p/gen mgr, King Cotton Mills Corp.
1805	1950 app	Franklin A. Trice	

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2000 Monument	1902 CD	John S. Harwood	Harwood Bros., whol oils
2004-06	1904 dds/1905 CD	Oliver J./Lucile R. Sands	pres., American Nat'l Bank; pres., Bank of Commerce & Trusts
		Austin H./Susan M. Burr	pres., Burr Mfg. Co., vinegar
2005	1904 CD	Dr. H. Cabell Tabb	med. dir, Life Ins. Co. of Virginia
2010	1905 San	Leroy B. Stern	sec/treas, Stern & Co., whol shoes
2038	1905 CD	Samuel B. Dunstan	sec/treas., C. F. Sauer Co., spices, extracts
2008	1906 CD	Walter W. Marston	traveling salesman
2013	1905 San/1906 CD	David C. Richardson	attorney
2020	1906 CD	Wirt A. Chesterman	general contractor
2001	1907 CD	Henry G. Taylor, Sr./Jr.	asst. gen. solicitor, C&O Railroad; Jr. is student
2003	1907 CD	Samuel Bachrach	pawnbroker
2030	1907 CD	Emanuel B. Ullman	traveling salesman
2034	1907 CD	Mrs. Elizabeth B. Jones	widow, J. Leigh Jones
2012	1908 CD/1910 ins	Alphonso W. Bennett	funeral director
2021	1908 CD	Dr. H. Ward Randolph	physician
		Henry P. Randolph	embalmer
2023	1908 ins	Laura H. Johnson	widow of P. E. Johnson
2039	1908 CD	Dr. Richard C. Walden	dentist
2007	1909 CD	The Stafford (3 apartments)	
2022	1909 ins	Elmslie G. Higginbotham	inspr., U. S. Engineer's Office
2028	1909 CD	Dr. H. Cabell Tabb	med. dir., Life Ins. Co. of Virginia
2024	1910 ins	James F. Walsh	gen. supt, motive power, C&O Railroad
2037	1911 CD	John T. Wilson	pres/gen mgr, J. T. Wilson Construction Co.
2032	1911 CD	Dr. Alex Bear	physician
2031	1913 ins	George F. Jones	Southern rep., Baldwin Locomotive Works, Standard Steel Works
2015	1915 ins	Joseph E. Sorg	v-p, Millhiser Bag Co.
2018	1915 CD	The Lawrence Apartments	

		(Mrs.) Lawrence Sycle	broker
2036	1915 ins	E. and Isaac Hutzler	no occupation given
2011	1918 CD	[apartment house]	
2009	1919 ins	Harvey C. Brown	real estate
2035	1920 ins	M. Lee Norvell	pres/treas, R. Kastelberg's Sons, Inc.; treas, West Virginia Coal Co.; sec/treas, Realty & Finance Corp. of VA
[Sue Norvell, widow of J. M., and daughter live at 2039]			
2025	1922 ins	Milton & Irving Straus	Julius Straus & Sons, insurance
		Joseph M. Rosenbaum	city slsmn, Wayne Oil Tank & Pump Co.
2017-19 (was 2019)	1927 CD	Dr. Henry A. Bullock	physician
2016	1955 app	Dr. S. Elmer Bear	

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2226 Monument (was 2224)	1905 CD	Philip C. Schloss	Schloss & Sorg (own Millhiser Bag Co., w/Joseph Sorg)
		Frederick C. Brauer	v-p, Richmond Union Stock Yards Co.
2220	1908 ins	Harry S. Binswanger	pres., Binswanger & Co., bldg supp., glass
2222	1908 CD	Harry S. Binswanger	" " "
2213	1909 ins	Samuel Bendheim	traveling salesman
2204	1909 ins.	Francis D. Barksdale	[no occupation given]
2209	1910 ins	Harvey C. Brown	D. A. Brown's Son, harness & saddlery
2211	1910 ins	Harvey C. Brown	" " "
[in 1911, Morton B. Rosenbaum was at this address; no occupation given]			
2200	1910 CD	R. Henry Harwood	Harwood Bros.; v-p, College Terrace Corp. (developers)
2206	1910 CD	John Bagby	Pollard & Bagby, real estate, farm land, loans (w/ Henry R. Pollard, Jr., son of city attorney)
2208 (was 2206)	1910 ins	Emanuel H. Gunst	Straus-Gunst & Co., whol liquors
2216	1910 ins	Alphonso W. Bennett	funeral director--was at 2012 in 1908
2231	1910 ins	Harvey C. Brown	
	[in 1912,	Edmond P. Goodwin	supt. (of a rail line?)]
2233	1910 ins	Harvey C. Brown	
[in 1912, Jacob Gans, pres., Gans-Rady Co., clothiers, hatters, men's furnishers]			
2236	1910 CD	The Addison Apts.	
2218	1911 CD	Leroy S. Cohen	Cohen Co., dry goods merchants (Leroy, Samuel, Isaac)
2215 (was 2217)	1912 ins	The Brooke Apts.	
	[in 1914,	Alvin M. Smith at 2215	pres., Smith-Courtney Co., engines, boilers, machinery, mining and mill supplies]
		W. Creed Davis	pres, Sitterding-Carneal-Davis Co.; American Bread Baking Co. [h. 526 N. Boulevard]
2227	1913 ins	Harvey C. Brown	
2229	1913 ins	Harvey C. Brown	
2230	1914 ins	Moses I. Binswanger	v-p, Binswanger & Co
2234	1915 CD	Charles B. Richardson	gen. agt, Mass. Mutual Life Ins Co.; treas, State YMCA
2205-07	1915 CD	Harvey C. Brown	real estate
[in 1915, he's at 2205; in 1916 he's at 2207 with Daniel Whitlock of Whitlock's Millinery, and S. Galeski, pres. S. Galeski Optical Co, is at 2205]			
2225	1916 CD	Harvey C. Brown	
2217 (& 2217A)	1917 ins	Harvey C. Brown	real estate
2219	1918 CD	Harvey C. Brown	
2221	1918 CD	Harvey C. Brown	
2223	1918 CD	Harvey C. Brown	
[these three shown as vacant, 1918; Harvey Brown, contractor, lived in the Shenandoah 1919 and 1920.]			

2235	1924 app	Rixey Court Apartments Mrs. E. Hawes Lipscomb	real estate
2201	1931 CD	First Church of Christ Scientist	

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2338 Monument	1909 ins	Thomas A. Smyth	v-p, Smyth Bros-McCleary-McClellan Co., stock yards, horses, mules; treas., Southern Stock Yards Corp.
2300	1910 CD	Clifford Smith	(owns paint company)
2340	1910 CD	Abraham L. McClellan	Smyth Bros.-McCleary-McClellan, Southern Stock Yards
2327	1913 ins	Lewis H. Blair	treas., Stephen Putney Shoe Co.
2330	1913 ins	Malcolm G. Bruce	atty. (moved in after Aug. 1)
2306	1914 ins	Edgar R. Lafferty	lino composition
2324	1914 ins	John S. Munce	gen agt, Kingan & Co. Ltd, whol grocers; pres, SPCA
2326	1914 CD	Llewellyn W. McVeigh	McVeigh & Glinn, real estate, loans
2336	1913 ins	Thomas A. Smyth	[same as built in 1910 at 2338]
2325	1915 ins	Jaquelin P. Taylor	pres., J. P. Taylor Co., leaf tobacco; chairman of the board, Planters National Bank
2312	1915 CD	Henry S. Wallerstein	pres., S. Ullman's Son, Inc. (whol grocers); v-p, Richmond Bldg Corp.
2314	1915 CD	James J. Pollard	Pollard & Bagby real estate; pres, Sickel Cleaning Co.
2307	1916 ins	H. Stuart MacLean	physician & surgeon, Grace Hospital
2309 (was 2311?)	1917 ins	H. Logan Golsan	Golsan & Nash, real estate, loans, investments
2315 (was 2311)	1924 CD	J. Scott Parrish	pres., Economy Concrete Co.; The Hammond Co., florists; 1st v-p, Richmond Chamber of Commerce; Richmond Foundry & Mfg Co.
2301	1925 CD [1927 CD lists Coleman Wortham, (Jr.)	Mary T. Wortham	widow of C. E. Wortham, Sr. pres, Davenport Ins. Corp.; v-p, Richmond Forging Corp.]
2319 (was 2321?)	1926 CD	Dr. H. Stuart MacLean	sec/treas, Grace Hospital
2304 (was 2302)	1926 CD	Dr. Stuart McGuire	pres, Medical College of Virginia; St. Luke's Hospital Corp; physician in charge, St. Luke's Hospital
2320	1927 CD [other Carys at 2236 & 3039 in 1927; "Carey" in CDs]	Mrs. Maria A. Cary	widow of T. A. Cary

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2514 Monument	1911 ins	Joseph Weinstein	pawnbroker; Southern Loan Office
2516	1911 ins	Hill Montague	atty.; commissioner chancery
2500	1913 CD	Frank D. Beveridge	Harvey, Blair & Co. and STB & Co.--whol grocers
2504	1914 ins	William C. Camp	v-p, American National Bank
2501	1917-1919	John Kerr Branch	Thomas Branch & Co.; v-p, Merchants' National Bank; 1st v-p, Chamber of Commerce
2512	1917 CD/1919 ins	Stratford Court Apts. Oscar Hooker	(see below)
2510	1918 CD/1919 ins	Kenilworth Apartments	

		Oscar Hooker	pres., James McGraw Inc., railway & machinists supplies, hardware
2502	1926 CD	Henry S. Raab	sec/treas, Raab & Co., realtors
	[also Meyer Greentree, clothier, at this address, 1926]		

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2610 Monument	1909 ins	Charles E. Straus	prop., Straus Cigar Co.
		Allyn C. Straus	salesman, Straus Cigar Co.
2614	1912 ins	James K. Dunlop	leaf buyer, American Tobacco Co. Stemmery
2608	1913 CD	Arthur Levy	district agt, Atlantic Life Ins. Co.
2616	1914 ins	The Westover	
		E. D. Hobbs	
2625	1915 ins	T. Garnett Tabb	gen agt, Travelers Ins. Co. of Hartford, CT; sec/treas, Richmond Bldg Corp.
2600	1916 CD	Clifford Smith	Clifford Smith Co., paints
2602-06	1923 CD	Belvin Apartments	
2609	1925 CD	Sallie Shepherd(?) Perkins & Mrs. F. G. Sheppard	
	[1927 directory shows Malcolm W. Perkins, clerk]		
2601	1926 CD	(Mrs.) Robert G. Cabell	Thomas Branch & Co., stockbrokers; sec/treas, Arvonia-Buckingham Slate Co., Monticello Slate Co., treas, Williams-Arvonia Slate Co.
2605	1926 CD	(Mrs.) Jonathan Bryan	Bryan Bros., capitalists; Bryan, Kemp & Co., brokers, investments; pres., Laburnum Realty Corp, Richmond Forgings Corp., Rothesay Realty Corp., Westover Hills Corp.; v-p, Richmond-Ashland Railway Co., Westview Land & Improvement Co.
2607	1926 CD	Miss Julia B. Andrews	
		William B. Andrews	clerk, RF&P Railroad freight depot

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2700 Monument	1908 ins	Moses L. Hofheimer	pres., Hofheimer Bros. Economy Shoe Store
2702	1910 ins	Edward N. Calisch	Rev.; rabbi of Beth Ahabah Synagogue
2704	1912 ins	William J. Whitehurst	treas, Ford-Whitehurst Mfg Co., bldg supply, gen. millwork, sash mfrs); 1st v-p, Richmond Bank & Trust
2708	1914 ins	Arthur L. Straus	Straus, Gunst & Co., liquors
2710	1914 ins	Wm. H. Schwarzschild	pres/treas, Schwarzschild Bros., jewelers
2712	1917 CD	John J. Ballou, Jr.	Davenport & Co., bankers, brokers, insurance
2716	1926 CD	Lee Paschall	pres, Byrd Park Homes Corp.; v-p, Robert E. Lee Hotel Corp.; pres/treas, Wise Granite & Construction Co.
2709	1929 CD	First Baptist Church	
2714	1929 CD	Anna B. Boykin	v-p, Confederate Memorial Literary Society
		Ellen T. Boykin	

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2828 Monument	1913 CD	The Rosemary Apts.
2800	1917 CD	The Monument Apts.
2806	1919 CD	The Jackson Apts.
2810 (was 2808)	1919 ins	Davis Bros. Inc.
2812 (was 2810)	1919 ins	Davis Bros. Inc.

2826 (was 2910)	1919 ins	The Versailles Apts.	
		Robert Powell	
2805	1920 ins	The Anne-Frances Apartments	
		Columbus K. Lassiter	v-p, American Locomotive Co.
		[in 1921, lives in New York City]	
2820	1924 app	Davis Bros. Inc.	
2822	1924 app	Davis Bros. Inc.	
2824	1924 app	Davis Bros. Inc.	
2816	1925 CD	W. E. Purcell, Jr.	real estate, loans, investments, insurance; chairman, City & State Board of Real Estate Assessors
2832-34	1926 CD	The Montclair Apts.	
		M. R. Palmore	
2830	1928 CD	Rosa B. Hexter	buyer, Miller & Rhoads Department Store

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2910 Monument (was 3016)	1913 ins	Samuel G. Meredith	pres., Meredith & Co., real estate, loans, insurance
2906 (was 3012-14)	1914 CD	The Meredith Apartments	
2905	1916 CD	Asher & Nathan Simon	A. Simon & Son, tailors
		Leon M. Nelson	Nelson & Nelson, attys
2903	1917 CD	The Galt Apartments	
2911	1917 CD	Carter B. Snow	v-p, W. H. Miles Shoe Co.
2902-04 (was 3004-8)	1921 ins	Sulgrave Manor Apts.	
		Meyer Greentree	clothier
2915	1921 ins	Edgar Allen, Jr.	pres, Allan, Saville & Snead Inc., real estate, loans, investments; pres, Stonewall Courts Corp., suburban properties
2917	1921 ins	Edgar Allen, Jr.	
2900 (was 3000)	1922 app	The Flavius Apts.	
	1924 CD	E. H. Jerman & I. M. Hill	[not listed]
2923-25	1922 ins	The Southampton Apts.	
		Robert M. Bryant	lumber
2916 (was 3018)	1925 CD	Flavius B. Walker	no occupation listed
2914	1926 CD	Mrs. Rosa L. Bruner	widow of P. H. Bruner
2907	1960 app	Lacy Jeffries	

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3039 Monument	1912 CD	Thomas H. E. O'Keefe	
3005	1917 CD	The Ardelle Apts.	
3001	1919 ins	W. Creed Davis	pres, Sitterding-Carneal-Davis Co.; Massaponax Sand & Gravel Co.
		E. Leonard Delaney	estimator, Sitterding-Carneal-Davis Co.
3007	1920 ins	Max E. Ruehrmund	architect
		Carl A. Ruehrmund	
		Charles R. Ruehrmund	real estate
3009 (was 3009-11)	1921 ins	The Halifax Apts.	
		(was The Majestic Apts.)	
3015	1921 ins	Joseph Kass	pres, Young Men's Shop, Inc.
3021 (was 3023)	1922 ins	William B. Nelson	pres, Kaufmann & Co., millinery, ladies' ready-to-wear
		Howell R. Weisiger	mgr, Southern Electric Co.
3011	1924 app	Steadman S. Sloan	buyer, D. Buchanan & Son, watchmakers /jewelers

3013	1924 app	Manley L. Hubbard	pres/treas, M. L. Hubbard Inc., realtors, builders, insurance
3029 (was 3035-37)	1926 CD	The Frankmont	
3000-02	1927 CD	O. J. E. Gray (apts.)	not listed
3004 (was 3004-06)	1927 CD	Maury (Eugenia) Apts.	
3006	1927 CD	Charles H. Phillips	Charles H. Phillips [apartments] Co., realtors, builders, rental agents, real estate developers
3012	1927 CD	C. L. Massie? (apts.)	not listed
3025	1954 app	Abbey Court Apartments	
		Nathan & Bernard Webber	
3019			

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3170 Monument	1922 app	M. McGregor Anderson	pres, Anderson Bros., Inc., whol dry goods
3101-15	1923 app	Lord Fairfax Apartments	
		Willis Co., Inc. [Norfolk?]	
3142	1923 CD	(Mrs. J. E.)M. M. Lewis	[not listed]
	[in 1926, William R. Bowers, sec/treas, Bowers Bros., coffee roasters, at this address]		
3100	1926 CD	Merrill E. Raab	pres, Raab & Co., real estate
3114	1927 CD	Gus M. Schwarzschild	v-p, Schwarzschild Bros., Inc., jewelers
3104	1928 CD	Harold E. Calisch	architectural supervisor
	[Edward N. Calisch also resides here]		
3117 (3109)	1928 CD	A. Sidney B. James	merchandise broker
3119 (3111)	1928 CD	Harry F. Byrd	buyer
3121 (3113)	1928 CD	Melville H. Wells	traveling salesman
3123 (3115)	1928 CD	Ernest W. Lemay	mgr, General Outdoor Advertising Co.
3125 (3117)	1928 CD	C. Custer Robinson	office of Charles M. Robinson, architect
3127 (3119)	1928 CD	William A. Crowder	salesman, Muhleman & Kayhoe, Inc.
3129 (3121)	1928 CD	(Mrs.) Joseph C. Herbert	farmer
3131 (3123)	1928 CD	Channing F. MacNeil	mgr, Travelers Ins. Co.
3133 (3125)	1928 CD	Herman F. McDaniel	[vacant, 1928]
3102	1931 CD	Irving & Elsie Greentree	w/ Meyer Greentree, clothiers

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3201 Monument	1911 ins	Mary & Isaac Held	deputy city treasurer
3203	1918 ins	E. Craig Pelouze	mgr., American Type Founders Co.; v-p, Mutual Savings & Security Corp.; treas., Richmond Automobile Club
3205	1919 CD	Hugh G. Russell	dentist
		Richard C. Walden	dentist (share office, 321 W. Franklin)
3207	1919 CD	H. Vance Godbold	Porter & Godbold, insurance
3215 (was 3211)	1920 ins	Harry D. Lipford	pres, Plant-Lipford, Inc., proprietors, [Edward Heinstein res., 1921] Piggly-Wiggly grocery
3217 (was 3213)	1920 ins	Walter R. Taylor	Taylor Bros., mfrs agents
3219 (was 3215)	1920 ins	Harry D. Lipford	[see above]
3221 (was 3217)	1920 ins	Samuel W. Morris	cashier, Cliff Weil Cigar Co.
3209	1922 ins	Charles Rose	[vacant, 1923]
3212	1922 ins	Jonathan H. Frischkorn	
3200	1923 CD	(Mrs.) Robert F. Sycle	United Paper Co.
3223 (was 3219)	1924 CD	G. J. Jackson	
3225 (was 3221)	1924 CD	E. I. Parrish	
3216 (3220)	1925 CD	Misses Van Vort	
	[a listing only for Miss Bertha Van Vort, no occupation given]		
3202	1926 CD	Real Estate Holding Corp.	

	[res. is Morton G. Thalhimer real estate, farm lands]		
3220	1926 CD	Charles Greenebaum	sec/treas, The Young Mens' Shop, Inc.
3206 (3204)	1927 CD	Arthur L. Straus	Julius Straus & Sons, insurance
3208	1928 CD	Charles H. Phillips	[see above, 3006]
	[resident is Irving S. Greentree		w/ Meyer Greentree, clothiers]
3218	1928 CD	Charles H. Phillips	[see above, 3006]
	[res. is Maurice L. Strause		Leon L. Strause Co., leaf tobacco
3224	1928 CD	Nannie E. Willingham	
		Edward V. Willingham	v-p, Universal Leaf Tobacco Co.; J. P. Taylor Co.
3213	1964 app	M/M R. P. Howell	

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3301 Monument	1921 ins	Mrs. Ora E. Garner	widow of F. F. Garner
3317	1922 ins	Warren M. Goddard	v-p/cashier, Planters National Bank
3306	1922 ins	P. Albert Smith	attorney
3303	1925 app	Hon. H. Lester Hooker	commissioner, State Corporations Commission
3312	1928 CD	William W. LaPrade	W. W. LaPrade & Bros., civil & consulting engineers
3300	1929 CD	Charles H. Phillips (o)	[see 3006]
		Charles L. Goodman (r)	
3302	1929 CD	Charles H. Phillips (o)	[see 3006]
		Gilbert Greentree (r)	
3318	1930 CD	Mrs. Nancy Allen Cann (o)	
		Lawrence B. Cann	slsmn, General Electric Co.
3310	1936 app	M/M Charles E. Straus	
3324 (duplex)	1940 app	H.C./F.W. Brauer	
3319 (duplex)	1947 app	Lee A. Whitlock	
		Keene Marks	
3322	1949 app	Julius Novick	
3309 (duplex)	1950 app	Mrs. Myrtis W. Blackburn	
3314 (duplex)	1953 app	Bent? M. Saslaw	
3304	1959 app	Amy K. O'Flaherty	
3305 (duplex)	1963 app	Harry Stein	

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3401 Monument	1914 VM/1917 CD	Whitmell S. Forbes	pres, W. S. Forbes & Co., whol provisions; Virginia Baking Co.; Richmond Guano Co.

N.B. 3401 is beyond the project area. City directories 1914-16 still show Roseneath Road as the city limit, and stop there. According to the Monument Avenue vertical file, Valentine Museum, Forbes' house was built in 1914.

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